MASTERS IN ENGLISH THEOLOGY;

BEING THE

KING'S COLLEGE LECTURES

FOR 1877.

EDITED, WITH A HISTORICAL PREFACE,

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HISTORICAL PREFACE.

THE "Masters in Theology," who are the subjects of the Lectures in this volume, belong to that period (1558–1662) from the accession of Elizabeth to the Restoration of Charles II., which may be said to have gradually established the position—in some sense unique in Christendom—of the Church of England. They were originally selected, not simply for their intrinsic greatness, but as being fairly representative of different schools of thought. Each has been treated by a different hand; and, at the cost of some occasional repetition, and some slight variations of opinion, I have thought it better to present the Lectures exactly as they came from the pens of the various authors, hardly venturing to exercise any editorial prerogative.

For this reason, however, it seems especially necessary to prefix to the Lectures a short historical preface, to indicate (so far as may be) the succession of the various phases of Theology, which these great writers were designed to represent, in

close connection with the varying fortunes of the Church itself.

(I.) The settlement made in the early years of Elizabeth may be rightly considered as the close of the first section of the Reformation period. It defined, so far as definition was thought necessary, the position of the Church, in relation both to the Roman Communion, and to the various religious bodies which had broken off from that Communion.

In the first place, the renewal of the Act of Supremacy—with the significant change of the title "Head of the Church," hitherto given to the Crown (under a reservation not always recognised), to the title of "Supreme Governor"—noted its resolute protest against the two chief characteristics of the Mediæval system, viz. the absolute supremacy of the clergy in the Church, and the universal allegiance of all Christian churches to the Pope. For in the Church of England itself it announced the supremacy over all, clergy and laity alike, of Law, passed by the Convocation and Parliament, and enforced by the Crown; and towards the world at large it claimed a national independence, subject only to appeal to a General Council freely chosen, involving a right to determine its own faith and discipline, under the guidance of Holy Scripture, and with due deference to the traditions of the Primitive Church.

In the next place, the Prayer Book of 1559, imposed by the Act of Uniformity, although modelled

on the whole on the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI., nevertheless indicated, in several well-known and crucial particulars, a desire to comprehend those who were attached to some points of the Mediæval system, without retaining their allegiance to the Pope and determinately opposing the work of reformation. It is certain that for a time that object was in great degree accomplished, till, in fact, the formal excommunication of Elizabeth broke off all relations with Rome, and forced Englishmen to take one side or the other. In this respect it breathed more of the spirit of the first Prayer Book of Edward VI., and reiterated—what that Prayer Book had itself distinctly announced—the resolution of the Church of England to stand on the old Catholic basis, and to preserve the continuity of her ecclesiastical life from the primitive days.

Lastly, the Articles, although (as has been elsewhere noticed) they had originally a provisional character, hardly aspiring to the theoretical completeness of some of the Continental Confessions, yet, considered in their main groups, indicate still more clearly the position which the Church of England then assumed. For they start with that group (Art. I.–V.) which simply rehearses, with some slight alterations and additions, the great articles of the ancient creed of Christendom, and which accordingly claims for the Church of England the old Catholic groundwork of doctrine. They next

(Art. VI.–VIII.), in defining "the Rule of Faith," boldly take up, in contradiction to the Council of Trent, that appeal to Holy Scripture "as containing all things necessary to salvation," which had struck the original key-note of the Reformation; and they assert the truth of the Three Creeds as being accordant with this standard of Holy Scripture. From this point they pass on (Art. IX.–XVIII.) to consider the two great abstract doctrines of "Justification by Faith," and of individual Predestination and Election, which had inspired the Lutheran and Calvinistic movements; and with these they deal in a spirit of complete independence, using the confessions and writings of Continental Reformers, without for a moment following them absolutely; on the whole, sympathizing with the Lutheran doctrine, and on the whole diverging from the Calvinistic, but in both cases taking up a line of their own. Still more distinctively Anglican is the definition, in the groups which next follow, first (Art. XIX.–XXXVI.), of the nature and authority of the Church, of the sacredness of the Christian Ministry, of the doctrine of the Sacraments, and secondly (Art. XXXVII.–XXXIX.), of the Royal Supremacy, and the relation both of the Church and the individual Christian to the civil power.

Of this position, complex in itself, appealing in due measure and harmony to Scripture, to Church tradition, and to Reason, HOOKER is the systematic

expounder and defender. In his writings, which (strictly speaking) belong to no School, we have, better perhaps than in the work of any other English divine, the representation of the new point of departure, from which the Church of England started on her career as a Reformed Branch of the ancient Catholic Church.

II. The position so taken was assailed, of course, from the side of the Church of Rome. It was honoured by the special hostility of the great counter-Reformation movement, of which the soul was in the Jesuit order, and the stereotyped declaration of principles in the decrees of the Council of Trent. The champions of Rome attacked it by various weapons—by the spiritual weapons of learning, ability, and earnestness—by the ecclesiastical weapons of excommunication and denunciation—by the carnal weapons of conspiracy at home and invasion from abroad. Against all alike the English Church and realm, then in composition identical, stood fast and triumphed.

But, as Hooker's writings show, it had to struggle against the power, variously called Puritan, Presbyterian, or Calvinistic, within its own bosom. The essential principle of antagonism, however, of this power to the constitution of the English Church, as marked in the Elizabethan settlement, lay in its Calvinistic doctrine, necessarily inconsistent with the preservation of the ancient basis of Church

Doctrine and Membership, necessarily impatient of a Reformation, which must have seemed to a revolutionary party a timid and inconsistent compromise. It boldly proclaimed itself the one true Scriptural system, claiming a Divine Right, overriding all other claims to authority. Meeting the excommunication of Rome with an equally intolerant rejoinder, it asserted itself as the only true bulwark against Popery, and the only safeguard of that individual and personal religion, which the Papal system would override.

Against Calvinism the first rebellion within the ranks of the Reformed Churches was seen in Arminianism. In its native country of Holland, Arminianism took a latitudinarian and anti-dogmatic form; it aimed at the simplification of the basis of faith and Church membership, and shrank from the bold attempt to weld all Christian doctrine into an iron, logical system, based upon God's election, and ready to sacrifice to coherency all unmanageable truth. In England, on the contrary, those who (against their own protest) were called Arminians assumed a distinctively Anglo-Catholic position. They met Calvinism by the assertion of its inconsistency with the ancient doctrine and constitution of the primitive Church, as expressed in the decrees of Councils and the writings of the Fathers. While fully accepting the basis of faith in Holy Scripture, they resolved to take the Bible as God gave it—

"the Bible in the Church"—and accordingly to allow full weight to the interpretation of ancient Catholic authority. They met the claim of a Divine Right for the Presbyterian polity by claiming a Divine Right for Episcopacy, and emphasizing the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession. They asserted against the individualism of the Puritan theology and worship, the reality of Sacramental grace, of the power of Absolution, of the authoritative Ritual of the Church. The position, thus taken up in opposition to the Calvinistic party, they held staunchly also against Rome, believing it, not without justification by results, to be the strongest permanent ground of resistance to her claims. But they were often accused of Romanizing, because they could not, and would not, take the rough and ready way of retorting her excommunication upon herself, by denouncing her system as the system of Antichrist, and placing her children out of the pale of salvation.

Of this School ANDREWES may be called the chief theologian, as LAUD was the great champion in action. Unhappily for itself, it entered into alliance more and more closely under the Stuarts with the cause of the absolutism of the Crown, though it never for a moment approached an Erastian position of mere subservience to the temporal power. In the Royal authority—itself held to be of Divine Right—the leaders of the Anglo-Catholic School believed that they saw a breakwater against the waves of

revolution, and a means of enforcing against rebellious opposition the Church Order and Ritual, on which they laid principal stress. Accordingly, they threw themselves unreservedly into the cause of advancing despotism. Mountague's 'Appello Cæsarem,' Mainwaring's 'Passive Obedience,' were but overt declarations of a policy which ran through the whole of Laud's ecclesiastical and political career. The error was, for the time, fatal. With the sudden collapse of the Royal Absolutism their power also fell, as in a moment. The Calvinistic or Puritan party, powerful especially in the middle classes and in the House of Commons, formed a bolder and happier alliance with the defenders of political liberty, struck out in Scotland the first spark of the conflagration which utterly consumed the imposing fabric of the Stuart despotism, and accordingly, triumphed over the High Church School, with a triumph which seemed permanent and complete. But yet it is not a little remarkable that, while the great writers of the Anglo-Catholic School have left an impress, both upon the English Church and the English Theology, which has never been lost, the Puritan School, great as were its power and earnestness, has bequeathed no writing which takes a permanent place in English theological literature. The one name which lives in transcendant greatness, the name of JOHN MILTON, is far more truly representative of the cause of

liberty, individual, political, social, than of the Puritan theology. It is to his 'Areopagitica,' and his 'Defensio Populi Anglicani,' rather than to his distinctively theological works, that the reader of his prose writings instinctively turns.

III. Lying, so to speak, beyond the direct range of the great conflict, there was a party, of which Falkland was the public leader, and of which such men as HALES and CHILLINGWORTH were the literary representatives. For a time, indeed, Falkland, and in some degree Hyde with him, represented in the Long Parliament the cause of Constitutionalism in Church as well as State. On the great question of Episcopacy, for example, they were equally opposed to the School of Laud, asserting its Divine Right as absolute, and to the Presbyterian party, who clamoured against it as an anti-Christian usurpation. But in the fierceness of the struggle they were soon swept away from this independent position; and it is significant that in almost all cases they finally joined the Royal cause, and shared the persecution which fell on the defenders of the Anglican Church system.

In theology they may be roughly described as the first representatives of a Latitudinarian School. Probably they found more protection or toleration under the absolutism of Laud, than face to face with the intense dogmatism of the Puritan party. It is

significant enough that Chillingworth was brought over to Rome by the Jesuit Fisher, Laud's antagonist in controversy, and reclaimed by Laud himself; that his 'Religion of Protestants' was intended to strengthen the positions of Laud's 'Controversy with Fisher,' and was solemnly burnt over his grave by a prominent Puritan divine. But at the same time this support could hardly have been other than a dangerous one, inspired as it was by principles which must have weakened or dissolved the strong cohesion of the High Church system. The thoughts of this School (of which Chillingworth is the best known though hardly the purest representative) were directed by the principles rather of the Continental Arminians than of the English Anglo-Catholic party. They would have laid down a simple basis of Christianity, such as the 'Apostles' Creed' might supply, such as they believed that, amidst all controversies on the subtler and deeper teachings of Holy Scripture, every reader of the Bible might discover for himself. Within the limits so laid down, they pleaded for a very considerable latitude of thought, even in the criticism of Holy Scripture, both for individuals and for Churches, without breach of Church membership or communion, and without imputation of heresy dangerous to salvation. On forms of Church Government they were so far indifferent, that they held none to be of universal and necessary obligation; though most

of them would in all probability have accepted a modified and limited Episcopacy—such as was afterwards suggested by Ussher—as being the most venerable, the soundest, and the freest form of government. On Sacramental Doctrine and the Power of the Keys, they were inclined at all times to protest against over-dogmatic definition, occasionally to approach to the merely Zuinglian theory. It is clear, therefore, that they really symbolized with neither party in the great struggle. They inclined to the High Church side, simply because, in respect of dogmatic narrowness and of sacrifice of everything to coherency of logical theory, the little finger of Puritanism in its earlier developments was thicker than the loins of the Laudian School. For the time their voice was but little heard; their principles were only to bear fruits in later days. But they form a distinct and characteristic School in English Theology; and, as such, deserve to be studied in some one representative work.

IV. The immediate triumph of Calvinism was marked at the Westminster Assembly (in 1643) by the adoption of the Covenant and the new Confession of Faith, and by the partial establishment of a Presbyterian system, moulded nearly on the Scotch type. By no mere accident it coincided with the wanton and vindictive execution of Laud, the lifelong antagonist of its ascendancy. But the hour of its triumph was apparently the first hour of its decay.

The Calvinistic body was split into diverse and antagonistic schools by the rise of "the Sectaries," especially the Independents; and by the conception not only of religious toleration, but of recognised religious diversity—utterly hateful to the true Presbyterian party—which the Congregational theory brought with it. The Calvinistic theology, as such, probably took no deep hold on the English mind—now that it was dissociated from the struggle for political liberty, and accordingly contemplated in the ruthless severity of its dogmatic theory. For Englishmen have always preferred the recognition of all the facts of any case, however irreconcilable they may seem, to the sacrifices which a perfect logical system invariably demands, before it can square to its required limits the complex variety of human nature and human life.

The most notable rebellion against its predominance arose in the celebrated school of the Cambridge Platonists, of which WHICHCOTE—himself a scholar of the Puritan College of Emmanuel, and raised to the Provostship of King's College by the Parliament in 1643—was the father. How complete that rebellion was will be seen by a glance at the sketch, given in the Fourth Lecture of this series, of the main positions which he assumed, and which his followers maintained and enlarged. They remind us in essence of the great principles of the First Book of the 'Ecclesiastical Polity.' But they are carried out with a

singular completeness, which "represents much that is most generous and noblest in the 'moral divinity' of to-day." The accordance of Reason and Faith, and the harmony of the Natural and the Supernatural, which have seldom been more boldly announced, must have sounded a note of defiance to the Calvinistic dogmatism. The belief in a true Image of God, not obliterated by the Fall, placed Whichcote in direct antagonism to the Puritanism, discontented even with the "very far gone from original righteousness" of our IXth Article, desiring to substitute for it the uncompromising phrase, "utterly deprived," and to add to the belief in an "infection of nature" the conception of an imputation of the guilt of Adam's sin to his posterity. The large comprehensiveness, which held that "nothing is desperate in the condition of good men," and conceived hopes even of "mere Naturalists," could not but stir suspicion and vehement opposition in every champion of true Puritanism. The School, which he may be said to have founded—itself hardly to be described by so definite a phrase—stood between the dominant Puritanism and the irreligious reaction which it provoked, and of which the system of Hobbes was the terrible representative. By both it was denounced; on the one side because it recognised natural reason; on the other because it held firmly to a supernatural faith. Its immediate influence was probably not great. Whichcote "left no

successors in a third generation." But it anticipated thoughts and principles, which have lived on, and started out into prominence again and again. It well deserves to be represented, either by Whichcote or some of his followers, in any series of Masters in English Theology.

V. Meanwhile "Prelacy," or, in other words, the old Church system of 1559, persecuted during the supremacy of the Calvinistic Puritanism, excluded from all place in the Committee of Triers under the Protectorate, virtually proscribed by the imposition of "the Engagement" and by ejectment from benefices and even from chaplaincies and tutorships, nevertheless preserved a quiet vitality, and bided its time. Nothing is more remarkable than the completeness of its restoration in 1662, without any effort of reassertion; the reaction against the dogmatic yoke of Calvinism and the ecclesiastical disintegration of "the Sectaries," was so absolutely irresistible, that Charles II., probably in his own mind not disinclined to keep the promises of the Declaration of Breda, yielded to it without a struggle. But a lesson had been learnt by the failure and sudden collapse of the rigid Laudian system, not lost even upon those who had grown up in that School. A change came over the spirit of the High Church Theology, not seriously affecting the positive principles of the School of Andrewes, but inclining to a larger comprehensiveness and toleration, in respect

both of enforcement by law, and of obligation *in foro conscientiæ.*

This change is visible, not only in the "moderate Episcopacy," limited by synodical concurrence, of Ussher, who belonged to a Puritan School and actually supported, in 1609, the adoption of the Lambeth Articles, or in the 'Irenicum' of Stillingfleet, brought up at Cambridge at the time when the influence of Whichcote was powerful, and in his early days inclining to the Latitudinarian School. It is traceable even in such men as Bramhall, the scholar of Laud, and the favourite of Strafford, when, on the reconstruction in Ireland after 1661, he declined to pronounce the nullity of Presbyterian ordination in that country and "much less in foreign Churches." It is still more distinct in Sanderson, professing himself a disciple of Hooker, and proving himself in the 'De Obligatione Conscientiæ' not unworthy of the name, of whom it is notable that he was named (though he never sat) as a member of the Westminster Assembly, and yet was afterwards a leader in the Savoy Conference on the dominant side, and the author of the Preface to the Prayer Book in 1662. But the most renowned representative of this new phase of Theology is undoubtedly JEREMY TAYLOR. In his exuberant fancy, his vast and indiscriminate learning, his extraordinary rhetorical power, not untouched by the higher inspiration of true poetry, his marvellous copiousness, pouring out

in one full tide, argument, illustration, exhortation, devotion—he stands absolutely alone. But in his Theology he bears the impress of his time; he appears to be the first great specimen of a "Liberal High Churchman."

He was one of those whose genius Laud discovered and fostered; for it is not a little remarkable that the man, on whom many delight to heap the reproach of utter narrowness and bigotry, should have been the friend and protector of Hales, the reconverter of Chillingworth, and the patron of Jeremy Taylor. On such points as the assertion of Episcopacy and the power of the Keys, high Sacramental doctrine and appeal to Patristic antiquity, Taylor belonged to the school of Andrewes and Laud. On Original Sin and the Doctrine of Repentance he was so vehemently anti-Calvinistic, as to be supposed to verge on Pelagianism. But the 'Liberty of Prophesying' strikes the key-note, both of comprehension and toleration, with a power unequalled before, and hardly equalled since, on all the cardinal points of the subject—the simplification of the terms of Communion for individuals and for churches—the reference of true heresy, not to error of understanding but to sin of will—the duty of all but unlimited toleration, both in State and in Church, to speculative error, as such—the assertion of the true province of reason, and the right of private judgment in matters of religion. It is probably

true that his own exuberant activity and copiousness of ideas may have disinclined him to precise dogmatic statement, and introduced some inconsistencies into his various utterances. But the position which seems to belong to him as a theologian, although then absolutely new and at all times rare, is a perfectly consistent and intelligible one—holding firmly to the belief in an Absolute Truth, and a continuity of supernatural life and grace in the Church, yet so trusting to spiritual weapons, as to refuse to guard Truth by persecution or anathema, or to strengthen Church unity by the iron bonds of external compulsion. Happily this principle may fairly claim its place in any representation of the chief characteristics of English Theology.

VI. In marked contrast with Jeremy Taylor, at once in respect of individual character and genius, and in the nature of his theological teaching, stands JOHN PEARSON, nearly his contemporary in age, but in thought more closely connected with the later aspects of English Theology. He had passed, like Taylor, through the experiences of the collapse of the Laudian rule, the dominance of the Calvinistic system, the discord of the sects. He had felt the attack on the old Anglican position which he loved, from the old antagonism of Rome and Geneva; he had seen the gradual advance of the Baconian system of philosophy, and the startling emergence of the brilliant theories of Descartes.

As he was by nature pre-eminently a scholar and a critic, and a close and systematic thinker, the effect on his mind was, first, to drive him to examine jealously the basis of Faith in Holy Scripture, and in those ancient Church traditions which earlier divines had accepted too much *en masse*, counting rather than weighing authorities, and discriminating too little between the true and the spurious, the clear and the doubtful; next, to teach him on that basis to build up systematically a solid superstructure, closely welded together by logical deduction, rejecting all that could only be made to cohere loosely with it, by uncertain inference, by fanciful association, by supposed necessity of completeness of idea; and lastly, to lead him to hold firmly and fairly the position so occupied, without the impulse either of strong antagonism or of large sympathy, towards those who occupied ground, which seemed to him less solid, on the right hand or on the left. In all these characteristics, in solidity and compactness of thought, in learning—wide indeed, but pre-eminently well digested and solid—in a true scholarly instinct for clearness, accuracy, moderation of statement, Pearson anticipates much of what is best in the theology of the Restoration divines and those who succeeded them.

The 'Exposition of the Creed,' and the 'Vindiciæ Ignatianæ' are perfect in their own way. Without one touch of Taylor's exuberant genius, Pearson

commands far more confidence as an abstract theologian; with no power to kindle enthusiasm or sympathy, and with little capacity for bringing out the relation of his own closely reasoned principles to other forms of thought, theological or scientific, his work stands in a hard characteristic insularity, which at least gives a firm foothold amidst the changing winds of speculation, and against the disintegrating power of criticism, and enables the mind to look out calmly and impartially, holding its own, and never unnecessarily attacking the positions of others.

Alike in his excellences and his defects, Pearson is especially a representative of a distinctively Anglican Theology, at a time when, by necessity, the peculiarities of the Anglican position had to be resolutely defined and maintained.

Such is a brief sketch of the historical relation in which these "six Masters in Theology" stand, both to one another, and to the general current of the thought and history of the eventful century to which they belong. It is designed to be, in the true sense, a simple Preface, preparatory to the study of the Lectures, which will bring out in fuller detail the great salient points of the life and thought of each writer, and by which some idea may be gained of the variety of the phases of our English Theology

in its best days, and of the order of continuity which runs through them all. It is hoped in some future year to attempt another series, dealing with the Theologians and Evidence-writers of the next century.

A. B.

King's College, London,
October 1877.

RICHARD HOOKER.

BORN A.D. 1553–4; DIED A.D. 1600.

Introduction.—I. Brief reference to Hooker's life and times.—II. The character of the ENGLISH REFORMATION (*a*) defined by the Elizabethan settlement as against Rome; (*b*) challenged by the "Puritan" School—Puritan in Ritual, Presbyterian in Church Government, Calvinistic in doctrine; (*c*) Hooker's answer to the challenge, examining the fundamental fallacy of the Puritan system, in the 'ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.'—III. Its three Sections. (A.) THE FIRST SECTION (Books I. to III.). Book I., on the Unity of Law—the Harmony of the Natural and the Supernatural—the Mutability or Immutability of Law. Books II. and III. polemical corollaries from it.—(B.) THE SECOND SECTION (Books IV. and V.); the Defence of Church Ritual (*a*) against the charge of Romanizing; (*b*) on its own merits—Hooker's Three Great Axioms examined—His method illustrated in relation to Sacramental Doctrine.—(C.) THE THIRD SECTION (Books VI.—VIII.): (*a*) Loss of Book VI., on Lay Eldership; (*b*) The historical treatment of Episcopacy in Book VII., compared with the method of subsequent Theologians; (*c*) The Theory of Church and State in Book VIII., in part rendered obsolete by facts, in part applicable *mutatis mutandis*.—IV. Conclusion: Hooker's place in English Literature—Peculiar historical interest and permanent value of his work in English Theology.

THE general purpose of the following Lectures is to bring out, in the persons of six chief "Masters in English Theology," the chief phases through which our English theology passed, in the great period intervening between the Elizabethan settlement at

the close of the Reformation and the end of the Restoration epoch—a period which in great degree determined the future Constitution of England, both in Church and State.

They take for granted in their hearers or readers, a sense first of the importance of Theology, as a form of true scientific thought, bearing upon religious feeling and religious action; and next of what in these days is universally recognised—the value of the historical method of investigation, as truer, and therefore more fruitful, than any system of abstract theory.

But, while these things may be assumed in all who are likely to read these Lectures, I believe that many who talk of "our old English Divines," although (rightly enough) they speak of them with respect and pride as of a noble school of writers, and perhaps have a tolerably clear idea that theology was in those days a leading and effective power in English opinion and life, yet perhaps are too apt to think of them, as if they were all more or less stamped with the same general impress—ignorant at once of the rich variety of the phases of thought which they severally represent, and of the order of development clearly traceable in our English theology, and corresponding with the course of the history, which, under God's Providence, has made our Church and State what they actually are. If this be so, I trust that the study of such writers as Hooker, Andrewes, and Chil-

lingworth, belonging to the period before the great Civil War, and of Whichcote, Jeremy Taylor, and Pearson, belonging to that period and the Restoration period which followed it, may be useful in helping us to gain a truer conception of the breadth, freedom, and variety, which (within certain well-defined limits) have characterized our English theology, and reflected themselves in the ritual and the life of our English Church.

We start from the Reformation, not as forgetting the great principle, which was throughout that Reformation kept steadily in view—the continuity of the life of the English Church from its original foundation—but simply because the Reformation determined for the Anglican Church a certain distinctive and unique position, from which I can hardly believe that it will ever recede; and because it also, by no mere accidental coincidence, marked the beginning of our distinctively English literature. Accordingly, I have to speak of RICHARD HOOKER, who is our first great systematic English theologian, as he is also one of the first and noblest writers of English prose. I think I may rightly describe him as the one great divine, in whose writings we trace—drawn out in explicit perfection, and defended with a massive strength of thought and learning—the principles implied in the Elizabethan settlement. For I hold that this settlement, after the vague preparatory movements under Henry VIII., and the two

more decided but opposing currents of action and reaction under Edward VI. and Mary, defined permanently the position of the English Church, as at once—I use a good old-fashioned phrase—"Catholic and Protestant," connected indissolubly with the system of the primitive Church, and yet resolved, at whatever cost, to clear itself from the corruptions of faith and practice which had gradually encrusted it.

(I.) It is as a theologian that I desire to regard Hooker. Accordingly, in any case, it would be needless here to dwell at any length on the story of his life. But this is, as it happens, especially needless; first, because in itself that life was quiet and uneventful, spent mainly in a studious retirement, far from the glare of dignities and the turmoil of political and social struggles; next, because Izaak Walton's 'Life of Hooker,' which is in all probability as authentic in general fact as it is quaint and beautiful in style, is in all men's hands. With Mr. Keble, indeed, we may well doubt whether Walton has not unconsciously infused into his biography of Hooker too much of the tone and spirit of his own character. The massive strength of thought, the shrewd common sense, the singular power of grave but most effective irony, which we trace in Hooker's writings, seem hardly compatible with such meek and all but childish simplicity as Walton attributes to him; or, at any rate, must argue the existence in Hooker of certain elements of character, which his

biographer could not understand, and therefore could not represent. But still we need no more than Walton has given us for the main outline of Hooker's history—* his early education, and his happy college days (1567–1584), in their unwearied study and not less unwearied devotion; his passage (in 1584, after his strange marriage), into "the corroding cares that attend a married priest and a country parsonage;" the single period during which, as Master of the Temple (1585–1591), he mingled with the busy life and ecclesiastical controversies of London; his glad retirement to the quiet of Boscombe and Bishopsborne (1591–1600), there to complete his great work, of which only the foundations were laid at the Temple; there to devote himself to the simple, quiet duties of a parish priest, although even there calumny of the worst kind pursued him, till the exertions of his friends and pupils dispelled it; there to die, only desirous to complete his 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' and then to cry, "Lord, let Thy servant depart in peace;" with those most characteristic words on his lips, which told of the "blessed obedience and order of the angels, without which peace could not be in heaven, and, oh! that it might be so on

* Now and then there are points which we should like to know more about; as (for instance) the cause of the expulsion of Reynolds and Hooker and three other Fellows of Corpus in 1579, by Dr. Barfoote; and the grounds on which the calumnious accusation against Hooker is attributed to "a dissenting brother."

earth." "I could wish" (he added with his dying breath), "to live to do the Church more service, but cannot hope it." But "God hath heard my daily petitions; for I am at peace with all men, and He with me." Walton's life is undoubtedly a panegyric; his portrait of Hooker suffers accordingly from being drawn without shadows. But yet it is no fanciful portrait. In depicting the sweetness, the meekness, and the saintliness of Hooker's character, it is clearly true to the life, as far as it goes, although perhaps there are some stronger and sterner features which it has missed.

Looking at Hooker, then, as a theologian, there are certain points which it is of interest to note in this narrative of his life. We observe that he was educated in a Calvinistic school, under the tutorship of Dr. Reynolds and the patronage of Bishop Jewel, the great champion of the Reformation, inclining, in spite of his great learning, to the more advanced Protestant party; so that he must have worked out for himself, by simple force of thought and learning, the grander and more Catholic principles which he maintained. We observe that his life coincided almost exactly with the great reign of Elizabeth in England; with the Huguenot struggle in France (ending with the abjuration of Henry IV. in 1593, and the Edict of Nantes in 1598); with the rise of the Jesuit power and the counter-Reformation on the Continent; with the long contest between Spain and

England, virtually ending with the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, in 1587, and the defeat of the Armada in 1588. We note that the last ten years of the sixteenth century and of his life, "saw besides the five books of the 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' the publication of the first works of Shakspeare, the first Essays of Bacon, and the 'Faëry Queene' of Spenser."* Quiet as was his life, singularly original as was his mind, it cannot be unimportant, in judging of his great theological work, to estimate the influences of his early education, of the spirit of so great and critical an age, and of the intellectual impulse, which was then giving birth to the unequalled development of English literature at the close of the Elizabethan period.

Still few works stand so much alone as his. It is said with truth that he founded no school. The 'Ecclesiastical Polity' (like Butler's Analogy), stands out in a magnificent isolation among the lesser writings of the day. Such, perhaps, is the general position of any work which is to be a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί, marking an epoch in religious or philosophical thought. It belongs to no school: for that very reason (like the Socratic teaching in the Greek philosophy), it influences all.

II. His time was a critical one. The Reformation,

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* I quote from the admirable Introduction of the Dean of St. Paul's to that excellent edition of the First Book of the 'Ecclesiastical Polity' (Clarendon Press, 1868), to which all students of Hooker are deeply indebted.

and especially the English Reformation, was on its trial. That English Reformation, being emphatically a reformation and not a formal reconstruction, had naturally been gradual and unsystematic, guided by no formal theory, dominated by no master-mind—its principles slowly working themselves out, in the directions suggested from time to time by the needs, the aspirations, the possibilities of each generation. It was at once its glory and its reproach that it was essentially Conservative; keeping, that is, to the old historic Constitution at once of Faith and Polity, altering it, indeed, with no want of boldness and freedom, but never sweeping it away, in order to plant a new systematic constitution in its place. It was, in fact, a growth, not an artificial formation—having all the irregularities and imperfections of a natural development, but having also the secret of permanence, in virtue of its adaptation to the character and the progress of the English people.*

(*a.*) Now the close of that Reformation movement, as acknowledged and guided by authority, is marked by the Elizabethan settlement.†

That settlement still preserved the character of the movement itself. It was still very far from systematic; it contented itself in the main with

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* See a fuller description of these characteristics in the Second Lecture (on Bishop Andrewes).

† I speak of the movement itself, not of its consequences, which gradually worked themselves out till the final settlement of 1661.

asserting general principles, and meeting actual needs. This will be seen at once by a glance at the two great national Acts which defined it—the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity.

The Act of Supremacy was virtually the assertion of two great principles. Towards those without, it asserted the independence of a National Church; always conditioned in principle by obedience to the law of Holy Scripture, as interpreted by the ancient Church Catholic; always subjected in practice to an appeal to a General Council, freely chosen.* Towards those within, it asserted the rights of the laity, as well as the clergy, in the Church (both under rule of the Sovereign) in the legislative determination of truth, law, and ritual, and in the judicial and executive enforcement of all that was determined by such legislation.†

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* The great points of the original Act of 1532 (24 Henry VIII.) are thus drawn out by Mr. Gladstone:—

1. The assertion of the ancient independence of the realm of England.

2. The division of the nation into the clergy or spiritualty and the laity or temporalty.

3. The supremacy of the Crown in all causes whatsoever over both.

4. The authority, fitness, and usage of the spiritualty to administer the laws spiritual.

5. Its endowment for this very end.

6. The parallel authority, fitness, and usage of the temporalty to administer the laws temporal.

7. The alliance between these jurisdictions.

'Remarks on the Royal Supremacy,' p. 43 (1850).

† It is notable that in the settlement of the Prayer Book and the Articles, the Houses of Parliament successfully asserted their right to discuss them upon their merits, when the Queen, jealous of her prerogative, and

The Act of Uniformity defined the religious standards of the Church, adopted in virtue of this independence, in the Prayer Book and the Articles.

The Prayer Book—in its very construction exemplifying at once a firm grasp of the old Catholic truth and ritual, and a fearless claim of a right to modify its form and development—was intended to be, and has actually been, a standard, not only of ritual, but of our national faith and national tone of religion. But its very power to mould thought and feeling lay in the fact that it was unsystematic, implying doctrine at every point, but seldom or never drawing it out into explicit dogmatic form.

The Articles, moulded out of the Forty-two Articles of Edward VI., closely connected with the Lutheran Confessions, and so bearing a distinct impress of the great controversies of the day, approach (of course) far more closely to a systematic form. Yet it is characteristic that even these were designed to meet a present need. They are but certain "Articles of Religion,"* drawn up with the prac-

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dreading the Puritanizing tendencies of the House of Commons, desired to base them simply on the authority of the Crown, acting by the advice of Convocation.

* The Forty-two Articles are entitled Articles "agreed on by Bishops and other learned men in Synod of London in 1552, for avoiding of controversy and establishment of godly concord on certain matters of Religion." Our Thirty-nine Articles were more formally agreed on in Convocation by the clergy of both

tical object of stilling or mitigating controversy, far from claiming an exhaustive completeness, far from anticipating the character of permanence, which subsequent circumstances have given them, and for which they have proved their extraordinary fitness.

So (I repeat) the new condition of things in the Church of England had grown up gradually and freely; and, even where it defined itself, had shrunk, as far as might be, from the task of elaborating an ideal Church constitution or a complete theological system. But it was now confronted on either hand by systems of an altogether different type.

From the Roman Catholic system—compacted every day into a more rigid and impregnable hardness by the growth of the Jesuit ascendancy—it was definitely cut off, by the determinate hostility into which, by degrees and after some vacillations, the Papal policy settled down. Towards Rome, therefore, there was as yet little variation from the defiant attitude assumed by Jewel at Paul's Cross.*

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provinces in 1562, "for the avoiding of diversities of opinions and the establishment of consent touching true Religion." The alterations which transformed the former into the latter (*e.g.* the insertion of Art. V.) were evidently made with some view to symmetry and permanence. But the general character of the old still remained.

* The terms of this celebrated challenge are singularly characteristic. It defies the Romanists to advance on fifteen crucial points named, "any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholic doctor or father, or out of any old General Council—or out of the Holy Scriptures of God—or any one example of the primitive Church." To the fifteen points here named, twelve others were subsequently added.

In fact, the haughty excommunication of Rome was then met by an equally intolerant rejoinder. Hooker had (it should be remembered) formally to defend himself for asserting that Roman Catholics still held the foundation; that their Church, though corrupt, was a true Church; and that individual members of it could claim a place in God's covenanted mercy.* On this side there was as yet little call for any change of theological position. The champions of the Reformation still contented themselves with the old threefold protest—intellectual against the denial of all private judgment—national against the despotism of a foreign usurpation—religious against the corruptions, adding to, or taking from, the true Scriptural standard.

There was not as yet any danger of a Romanist reaction, and the chief attention of the Anglican theologians was directed to a different quarter.

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* See the attack of Travers (in his "Supplication to the Council") on Hooker's "Sermons on Justification." The chief points of exception were the statements (*a*) that "the Church of Rome is a true Church of Christ . . . though not a pure or perfect Church;" (*b*) that "They which are of the Church of Rome may be saved by such a faith as they have in Christ and a general repentance of their sins;" and (*c*) that "The Church of Rome . . . denies not the foundation directly but only by consequent; and therefore may be saved." We note that even the Archbishop did not accept Hooker's views unreservedly, but (to use Izaak Walton's words) "discreetly and warily did correct and moderate between them both." Travers' Supplication and Hooker's Answer are given in Keble's 'Hooker,' vol. iii. pp. 548–596.

(*b.*) For, on the other hand, within the Church of England itself, the position now assumed was questioned in the name of a stern and thorough logical system, demanding an absolute clearance of the ancient ground, that upon it the polity in which it delighted might be reared in all its symmetrical perfection.

It must never be forgotten that what we commonly call the "Puritan movement," including, as it did, very much of the political power and religious earnestness of the land, was, before all and after all else, Calvinistic.

It was, indeed, what men ordinarily term "Puritan" in respect of Ritual. Thus it had a passion for "simplicity," stripping off all ceremonial, partly from a horror of all that seemed to be in the slightest degree akin to the ritual of Rome; partly from an antipathy to all appeal to the imagination, which it called foolery, and to all high sacramental doctrine, which it branded as superstition. It had a passion for individual freedom in worship, chafing under all forms, as necessarily fettering and chilling the spirit. Now these Ritual questions were very practical, refusing to be ignored or postponed in an age which allowed little to individual liberty. They pressed for decision. But all Ritual questions in themselves are but questions of degree. They can never be matters of life and death, unless some deeper questions underlie them.

There can be, again, no doubt that this same party were Presbyterians as to Church government. They held that a quasi-republican government — stern enough in tone, and rigid even to hardness in administration—of mixed clerical and lay elders, was the distinctly Scriptural polity of the Church. In some cases they went further still, towards Congregationalism or "Independency," asserting for each congregation so administered the right of almost absolute self-government.* In any case, Episcopacy was odious to them, as an usurpation from within; civil authority was to them, almost as much as to Hildebrand himself, a tyranny from without—to be jealously watched, and, on the first sign of intermeddling with sacred things, resolutely defied. But, even here, although this aspect of their principles brought them into the most frequent practical conflict with the powers of Church and State, the true secret of antagonism is not yet found. A moderate Episcopacy (of the type suggested by Ussher) would have satisfied many.

It was their Calvinistic system of doctrine, which challenged the whole principle of the Church of England, as established still on the ancient basis. Perhaps at no time in Church history—certainly at no time since the days of St. Augustine—had any single mind so extensive and despotic a sway, as the

* The Brownists, the first Independents, appeared in 1580.

keen, intrepid, logical, comprehensive mind of the great French Reformer. His very opponents spoke of him with bated breath.* With his Bible in his hand, known in every line, and interpreted with a force which has made him a prince among commentators—fastening on the mysterious predestination and election of God, there shadowed out, as the keystone of his system—he was prepared to substitute for the visible Church of baptized Christians the Church of the elect, and to sweep away utterly all of the ancient historic Christianity, which rested on what seemed to him a false basis.

Here we come to a ground of fundamental opposition. The Prayer Book, especially, could not possibly be read under the narrow light of his system without seeming to be full of *ineptiæ*, hardly *tolerabiles* —things beautiful, perhaps, but absolutely unsound.†

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* Hooker says of him, Preface to 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' ii. 8. "Two things there are of principal moment, which have deservedly procured his honour throughout the world; the one his exceeding pains in composing the 'Institutes of Christian Religion;' the other his no less industrious travails for exposition of Holy Scripture." He adds, "Of what account the Master of the Sentences was in the Church of Rome, the same and more amongst the preachers of reformed Churches Calvin had purchased; so that the perfectest divines were judged they which were skilfullest in Calvin's writings. His books were almost the Canon to judge doctrine and discipline by." Mr. Keble quotes a MS. note of Hooker on the 'Christian Letter,' in which "the sense of Scripture which Calvin alloweth" is said to be held of more force than if "ten thousand Augustines, Jeromes, Chrysostomes, Cyprians, were brought forth."

† That the fundamental objection to the Prayer Book lay in

That the very Articles (by some thought to incline towards his school) were to that school utterly unsatisfactory, is shown by the attempt to add to them the celebrated Lambeth Articles—clear, uncompromising, ruthless, in the enunciation of the most terrible Calvinistic doctrines.* Abroad it was now

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the simple fact that it starts, in relation to the membership of Christ, from Baptism, not from Election or Conversion, and insists on regarding all baptized persons as members of Christ, is obvious to any attentive reader of the Hampton Court and Savoy Conferences. Other objections might have been met: but this could not possibly have been even entertained, without reversal of fundamental principle. See in Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' Book V. c. xlix., a serious accusation urged against our Prayer Book on the ground that it teaches us to pray that "all men may be saved"!

* To understand thoroughly the question at issue, it is only necessary to glance at the Lambeth Articles, and to consider what an unbearable yoke they would have imposed on the Church, and what a fatal wound they would have inflicted on Christianity. They are as follows:—"1. God from all eternity has predestinated some persons to life and others to death. 2. The moving or efficient cause of predestination to life is not foreseen faith, or perseverance in good works, or any other quality, in the persons predestinated, but the sole will and pleasure of God. 3. The number of the predestinated is predetermined and certain, and cannot be increased or diminished. 4. Those who are not predestinated to salvation are necessarily condemned on account of their sins. 5. A true, lively, and justifying faith, and the sanctifying influence of the Spirit of God, is not extinguished, neither does it fail, nor does it vanish away in the elect, either finally or totally. 6. A man who is truly faithful, or endowed with a justifying faith, has a certain and full assurance of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ. 7. Saving grace is not afforded to all men; neither have all men such a communication of Divine Assistance that they may be saved if they will. 8. No man can come to Christ, unless it be granted to him and the Father draw him; and all men are not drawn by the Father

on the Calvinistic, not the Lutheran bodies, that the great interest of the struggle with Rome turned. At home, in the imminent danger which menaced England both in Church and State, there was a loud demand to substitute for what seemed an irregular and inconsistent fabric, a squared and compacted fortress on the well-drawn lines of the great French system-builder. This demand was uttered or entertained, not simply by theologians and divines, but by leaders in the Houses of Parliament, by men high in the councils of the Crown.* It raised clearly a most vital and practical question.

(*c*) How was the demand to be met? In part, perhaps, it could be met by the simple power of that sturdy Conservatism of the old, which has been the secret of the unbroken continuity of our English Constitution. In part, again (chiefly through the determination of the Queen herself), by the strong hand of the Law, the right of which to coerce, both in

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that they may come to Christ. 9. It is not in the will and power of every man to be saved." (See Fuller's 'Church History,' Book IX.) The most extraordinary circumstance in their history is that Whitgift, the bitter opponent of the Puritans, was prepared to accept them. At the Hampton Court Conference the spokesman of the Puritans formally demanded their acceptance; but this was peremptorily refused. The comparison of them with our XVIIth Article is most instructive.

* Burghley employed Travers (Hooker's chief antagonist) as domestic chaplain and tutor to his children. Walsingham founded a Divinity Lecture of anti-Romish controversy at Oxford, and made Reynolds his first lecturer. Leicester's tendency to coquet with the Puritan party is well known. (See Keble's Preface to 'Hooker,' p. lvii.)

Church and State, was questioned by none, although they might greatly differ as to the direction in which coercion should be exercised. But the mere instinct of Conservatism, and the simple coercion of law, can never adequately deal with any movement which has a reason to give for itself—least of all, with those religious movements which stir society to its very depths. So men began to scan the Anglican system, as by law established; to consider what were the great principles involved in its growth and giving it vitality; to seek for an answer to the challenges so boldly advanced, which might stand the test of examination on its own merits. The English divines rose to the emergency. Other labourers there were in this field. But the memory of all has paled before the fame of Hooker. In his 'Laws of the Ecclesiastical Polity,' we trace the ideal embodied in the Elizabethan settlement; in it, accordingly, we find the first great systematic development of Anglican theology—involving (I believe) principles which, in all its future developments, have never been wholly lost.

It was still characteristic of the English mind, that this first great work was not an abstract treatise on Christian truth—a body of "Institutes of the Christian religion." It was an examination of the 'Ecclesiastical Polity'; it dealt with Christianity, as concrete in individual and corporate Christian life. But Hooker, like most great thinkers, well knew that

all society, and especially the spiritual society which we call the Church, is based on certain laws, expressive of the Creative Will in the physical and moral constitution of men; and that these laws are manifestations, however veiled and imperfect, of the nature of God Himself. Hence, before dealing with questions of detail, he resolved to lay a foundation of first principles. On this determination depends all the real and permanent value of his great work. He, like others, might have been content with simply repelling the attack of the enemy, fighting them on their own ground, proving them wrong, historically or theoretically, on this or that point. If he had done this, his work would have been probably easier, possibly more popular at the moment, but certainly merely ephemeral. So far, indeed, as he is a mere polemic, though among polemics he stands singularly high for gravity, dignity, and fairness,* he is not free from mere *argumenta ad hominem*, and from the sophistries of special pleading.† But, happily,

* Mr. Keble says in his Preface, "There is not (as the editor believes after minute examination) a single instance of unfair citation" of the words of opponents. Perhaps this is too unreserved (see, for example, the citation of Cartwright in Book V. c. lxi. 4); but in general the statement is unquestionably true.

† Take (for example) his apology (Book V. c. xliii) for the absence of Special Thanksgivings, to correspond to the Prayers for special blessings or for deliverance from special evils. The defect itself was rightly removed at a subsequent revision. Or again, his apology for some manifest defects in our translation of the Bible, which it would have been far better to acknowledge as spots on the sun (Book V. c. xix.)

he examined not merely the errors of his opponents, but the grounds of those errors, and the truth which they perverted.* He believed that the best defence against attack is the deepening and strengthening our own position, and the best remedy against the rank weeds of falsehood is the cultivation of the good seed of truth, so that it may draw to itself the whole richness of the spiritual soil, and leave them to pine away and die.

Now at the basis of the whole of his opponents' system there lay a twofold fundamental fallacy, an exaggeration of that great truth of the "sufficiency of Holy Scripture to salvation," which is one of the pivot Articles of the Church of England. It was held that no law could be of permanent obligation which was not expressed in Holy Scripture, and that no law which was contained in any part of Holy Scripture could fail to be of permanent obligation. With the former fallacy, most of the characteristic tenets of the party were closely connected. From it resulted in Ritual their hatred of all ceremony not formally enjoined in Holy Scripture, and their refusal to recognise any authority in the Church to impose such ceremony, and thereby (it was conceived) to fetter the individual freedom. By it, undoubtedly, they justified their refusal to acknowledge Episcopal authority in the Church, the supreme government

* See Dean Church's Introduction, already quoted, p. xvi.

of the Crown, and, ultimately, the existence of a National Church as a body. On this they based the Divine right of a system depending on the predestination and election of God, revealed (as undoubtedly they are revealed) in Holy Scripture; and defended their refusal to recognise any historical development of the Church not completed in the Apostolic age. To the latter fallacy, probably less serious in itself, we must trace very much of that spirit which, as has been well said, especially of the Covenanters of Scotland, made them "Christians of the Old Testament rather than of the New."

I do not know that Hooker would have found it difficult, without seriously examining these fundamental principles, to have met his antagonists and fought them, simply on their own ground. It needs little sagacity to see how that work might have been done, and how, in fact, it has been done, both in parts of Hooker's writings and elsewhere. But this would have been but sorry work after all. It would have brought out no deep positive truth; it would have given no *rationale* of the Anglican position; it would have had no lesson of inspiring example to ourselves.

Hooker happily ventured on a bolder and a more comprehensive task. He knew* that his argument would seem "to a number, perhaps tedious, perhaps obscure, dark, and intricate." To search into the

* See Book I. c. i. sects. 2 and 3.

foundation of "the stateliness of houses," and the root of "the goodliness of trees," is "a labour more necessary than pleasant, both to them which undertake it and to the lookers on." But it must be done. "The laws of the Church were called in question." The challenge could not be met except by "consideration of law in general, and of that law which giveth life to the rest, namely, the law by which the Eternal Himself doth work."

III. Accordingly his great work falls into three chief sections. In the first book there is laid a foundation of first principles, to which the second and third books are polemic corollaries. In the fourth and fifth books we have the detailed defence of Church Discipline and Ritual, involving also defence of much Church doctrine, as implied therein. In the last three books is contained the defence of its government and of its relation to the State. To judge of Hooker's theology we must consider those three sections in order.

(A.) In the first book Hooker strikes an all-important keynote, which Anglican theology has never at any time wholly lost. He lays down as his fundamental principle the Unity of all Law, as the expression of One supreme Will, which is but another method of declaring the unity and final correlation of all branches of truth. From this follows, to all who believe in a Revelation, another principle of transcendent importance, the harmony—not the dis-

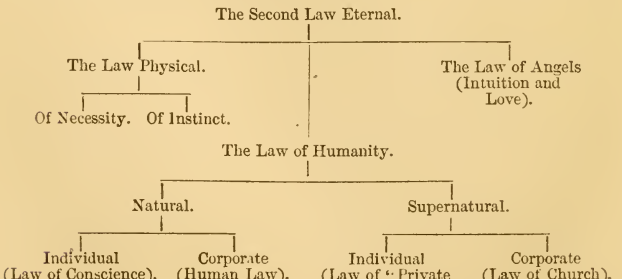
cord, not the mere unison—of the Natural with the Supernatural, both in truth and in grace. In virtue of both these principles, theology asserts its relation to all other forms of science, as *Mater non noverca scientiarum*—emphasising its own truths, without denying others which belong not to its sphere, and content to wait patiently, not often in vain, whenever their reconcilement with the revelation on which it rests seems to linger.

No reader of Hooker's noble first book will forget the magnificent comprehensiveness of his treatment. He glances (in chap. ii.) first at that "First Law Eternal"—"the law which God has set down with Himself"—in the conception of which are involved the belief in the essential righteousness of His Almighty will, and the self-limitation (if we may so speak) of that will for the sake of the fellow-working of His creatures.* Then, starting from this profound conception, he surveys as a whole the "Second Law Eternal, which God has set to His creatures." Like one who, on a mountain height, gazes alternately on the great plain of earth and the greater vault of heaven, he takes his stand on the level of humanity; and thence, first turns his eyes downwards to the physical world, to which man is bound by his bodily

* "They err, therefore, who think that of the will of God to do this or that there is no reason besides His will." "His wisdom hath stinted the effects of His power in such sort that it doth not work infinitely."

nature, and sees the law of God in the regularity of physical necessity, and the rudimentary developments of a higher power in animal instinct; and next turns his eyes upwards to the throne of God, and by the flashes of revelation contemplates in the "Law of Angels" the law of the higher spiritual nature, to which one day we shall be like. Then—with the direct light of heaven from above, and its reflections from below, playing (so to speak) on the intermediate nature of man—he sees God's law revealing itself, first in the "natural law" of the individual spirit and of collective humanity; then in the supernatural law of His Revelation, alike to the individual soul and to the whole body of the Church.* He holds that the sufficiency of the supernatural light takes for granted the natural, passes beyond it, but never obscures or contradicts it. Wherever there is light, it is the light of God, and to the believer in God it is sacred. With what freshness of interest he glances

* His scheme may be exhibited thus:—



at the manifestations of law and design in Nature!* With what boldness of delight in man's freedom—strange under the exuberant loyalty, often degenerating into servility, of the Tudor period—he traces out the foundations of human society and human law! † How earnestly he searches into man's own nature—the method of human knowledge, the sacredness of conscience, the power of love, the freedom of will!‡

Hence he sees that, as in all other knowledge, so in the knowledge of God, the actual process of learning is a complex process. It has its individual side of "private judgment," in which we must seek it, through our own reason and conscience under the guidance of the Spirit of God, whether we survey the law natural written on the heart, or the law supernatural written in Holy Scripture.

* See chap. III. sect. 4, where he discusses the theories of individual design in each creature, and of "exemplary draughts and patterns" of classes—the "archetypal forms" of modern theory.

† See the celebrated chapter (cx.); in which he distinctly anticipates "the social compact;" holds that "there is no impossibility in nature considered by itself, but that men might have lived without any public regiment;" and concludes that "for any prince or potentate to exercise authority of himself, and not either by express commission immediately and personally, received from God, or by authority derived at the first from their consent upon whose persons they impose laws, it is no better than mere tyranny." Whatever we may think of the historical authority for these statements, so singularly anticipating the tenets of Locke, we cannot but be struck by their strong contrast with the theories afterwards developed in the school of Laud.

‡ See chaps. v.–viii., where again the well-known *tabula rasa* of the system of Locke is found.

It has its social side, in which we are led by the authority of mankind, whether in the secular or the spiritual society—in the one claiming to declare by statute the rights of natural law, in the other, to enforce by authorised interpretation the truth of Holy Scripture. On the balance of the two elements—the one securing individuality, and the other unity—the well-being both of the natural and the supernatural life in man depends. Hard it may be to maintain the balance; but it must be maintained. So again, the two laws themselves imply, or presuppose each other. The law supernatural both reveals what is beyond reason, and also sets its divine seal on many truths discovered by reason, and on many duties of which conscience bears witness. But the law natural is not contradicted; it is not even superseded by the higher law supernatural. There are points in which it is still left to speak, and to speak with an undiminished authority.*

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* See his general conclusion, c. xiv. sect. 5. "There is in Scripture therefore no defect, but that any man, what place or calling soever he hold in the Church of God, may have thereby the light of his natural understanding so perfected, that the one being relieved by the other, there can want no part of needful instruction unto any good work which God himself requireth, be it natural or supernatural, belonging simply unto men as men, or unto men as they are united in whatsoever kind of society. It sufficeth therefore that Nature and Scripture do serve in such full sort, that they both jointly, and not severally either of them, be so complete, that unto everlasting felicity we need not the knowledge of any thing more, than these two may easily furnish our minds with on all sides."

It is not true, therefore (he concludes), that no law can be of permanent obligation, even in the things of God, which is not written in the pages of His Word.

So Hooker deals with the first principle of his antagonists. So in different degrees all Anglican theology has since dealt with the principle of what has been called "Bibliolatry,"—exaggerating, and by exaggeration ultimately tending to overthrow, the supreme authority of Holy Scripture, as speaking to the individual soul.* Far less easy and simple, no doubt, is this complex exhibition of the Divine law, in which the individual and the social, the natural and the supernatural, have to be carefully studied, and subtly harmonized with each other, than the single appeal, perhaps to an infallible inward light, perhaps to an infallible society or person, perhaps to the *ipsissima verba* of Holy Writ. Those who make such appeals taunt us with compromise, inconsistency, ambiguity of utterance, if we question them. But to the thoughtful mind the very absence of a bare, naked simplicity is a *primâ facie* evidence of truth, because it is accordant with our own complex nature, with all the imperfections and apparent

* See Book II. c. viii. 7. "As incredible praises given to men do often abate and impair the credit of their deserved commendation; so we must likewise take great heed, lest by attributing to Scripture more than it can have, the incredibility of that do cause even those things which indeed it hath abundantly to be less reverently esteemed."

contradictions of human life. Never, perhaps, more than now, is the question of this harmony of the individual and the social, of the natural and the supernatural, forced upon us in every field of thought. In Hooker—more (I think) than in many great theologians who succeeded him—we find, under some archaism of form, the enunciation of the true principles, which must always guide the believer; whenever, with the beacon-light of the revelation of Christ before his eyes, he sees new cross-lights breaking in on every side—lights which, if they be true, he will neither quench nor ignore — lights of which, if they be ever so true, yet none is sufficient to be his guide.

It is in the same large and thoughtful spirit that Hooker examines the other question forced upon him, of the permanence and immutability of this or that law. Very tempting, again, the rough and ready method, which cries out "To the law and the testimony!" "It is written in Holy Scripture, it must abide for ever." Very tempting, but utterly delusive. There is but one way of determining whether a law, however spoken, or a revelation, however given to man, is unchangeable—by determining whether it belongs to man as man, in the nature which in essence is unchangeable, and in the relations which are primary and enduring, or whether it touches only circumstances, customs, institutions, forms of

education, which have passed away.* Hard, no doubt, this to determine. It needs careful study; it is open to endless controversy; it is liable to ambiguity or error. It is hard; but all things worth having are hard in this world. The time of intuition is not yet.

On us, no doubt, far more than even on Hooker, lies this hard task—to distinguish between the transitory and the permanent in Holy Scripture, to mark the progressiveness of God's revelation in its actual historical order, and not to confuse the grey of its

* Hooker expresses this truth with singular clearness and force in c. xv. sect. 3. "Wherefore to end with a general rule concerning all the laws which God hath tied men unto: those laws divine that belong, whether naturally or supernaturally, either to men as men, or to men as they live in politic society, or to men as they are of that politic society which is the Church, without any further respect had unto any such variable accident as the state of men and of societies of men and of the Church itself in this world is subject unto; all laws that so belong unto men, they belong for ever, yea although they be Positive Laws, unless being positive God himself which made them alter them. The reason is, because the subject or matter of laws in general is thus far forth constant: which matter is that for the ordering whereof laws were instituted, and being instituted are not changeable without cause; neither can they have cause of change, when that which gave them their first institution remaineth for ever one and the same. On the other side, laws that were made for men or societies or churches, in regard of their being such as they do not always continue, but may perhaps be clean otherwise a while after, and so may require to be otherwise ordered than before; the laws of God himself which are of this nature, no man endued with common sense will ever deny to be of a different constitution from the former, in respect of the one's constancy and the mutability of the other."

early dawn with the full noonday—to distinguish in Church constitution between that which is essential and therefore permanent, and that which is secondary and therefore changeable. How constantly are we tempted to cut the Gordian knot by some sharp, narrow decision on this side or on that! Yet to yield to that temptation is simply fatal—purchasing victory at the price of truth, and gaining rest as by some spiritual suicide. When we pass from the pages of some who have yielded to it to the writings of our first great English theologian, we hail gladly the work of a strong pioneer in the steep and rugged way of truth; and we trust that the later ages of our theology may never belie the noble promise of its early morning.*

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* We trace precisely the same philosophical and candid spirit in Hooker's method of dealing with other questions subsidiary to the main argument. Thus (*a*) we note his careful distinction between *à priori* and *à posteriori* argument as to the essential superiority of a written Revelation over an unwritten Tradition (c. xiii. sect. 2). "Now, although we do not deny it to be a matter merely accidental unto the law of God to be written; although writing be not that which added authority and strength thereunto; finally, though his laws do require at our hands the same obedience howsoever they be delivered; his providence notwithstanding which hath made principal choice of this way to deliver them, who seeth not what cause we have to admire and magnify?"

(*b*) We observe, again, his wise and thoughtful view of tradition (c. xiv. sect. 5). "That which is of God, and may be evidently proved to be so, we deny not but it hath in his kind, although unwritten, yet the self-same force and authority with the written laws of God. It is by ours acknowledged, 'that the Apostles did in every church institute and ordain some rites and customs serving for the

So it is that he lays the foundation. With his foot firmly planted thereon, it is not hard for him to strike in the next two books decisive blows against the two fundamental positions of his antagonists—

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seemliness of church-regiment, which rites and customs they have not committed unto writing.' Those rites and customs being known to be apostolical, and having the nature of things changeable, were no less to be accounted of in the Church than other things of the like degree; that is to say, capable in like sort of alteration, although set down in the Apostles' writings. For both being known to be apostolical, it is not the manner of delivering them unto the Church, but the author from whom they proceed, which doth give them their force and credit."

(*c*) We note, once more (in c. xiii. 3), his admirable description of the fulness of Holy Scripture, and the sense in which all its parts are "necessary." "By Scripture it hath in the wisdom of God seemed meet to deliver unto the world much but personally expedient to be practised of certain men; many deep and profound points of doctrine, as being the main original ground whereupon the precepts of duty depend; many prophecies, the clear performance whereof might confirm the world in belief of things unseen; many histories to serve as looking-glasses to behold the mercy, the truth, the righteousness of God towards all that faithfully serve, obey, and honour him; yea many entire meditations of piety, to be as patterns and precedents in cases of like nature; many things needful for explication, many for application unto particular occasions, such as the providence of God from time to time hath taken to have the several books of His holy ordinance written. Be it then that together with the principal necessary laws of God there are sundry other things written, whereof we might haply be ignorant and yet be saved: what? shall we hereupon think them needless? shall we esteem them as riotous branches wherewith we sometimes behold most pleasant vines overgrown? Surely no more than we judge our hands or our eyes superfluous, or what part soever, which if our bodies did want, we might notwithstanding any such defect retain still the complete being of men."

Each passage, while it, of course, bears the impress of the time, is written for posterity.

the maxim that for the individual Christian life "Scripture is the only rule of all things which in this life may be done of men;" * and the maxim that, for the corporate life of the Church, "there must be in Scripture a form of Church polity, the laws of which may not be altered." † On each, indeed, he argues separately. He examines the supposed claims of Holy Scripture for itself. He enters (so far as the knowledge of the day allowed ‡) into the history and the writings of the early Church. He discusses the abstract reasoning of his opponents. He traverses, therefore, the time-honoured path of investigation of Scripture, of Authority, of Reason. Yet, after all, the argument of the first book is all-sufficient. It is not by mere accident that the second and third books are but little read; although I think it would be well if the opening of the third book on the nature of the Church § were in all cases associated with the study of the fifth book. But it is to my mind a fatal error to dwell on any part of Hooker's great work without study of the deep foundation laid in the first—more valuable (I venture to think) in itself, more important in its effects

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* See Book II.

† See Book III.

‡ It will be noted, for instance, how far more copiously he quotes from the Latin than from the Greek Fathers, and how (in Book V.) he accepts unhesitatingly the Athanasian authorship of the "Athanasian Creed."

§ I mean Book III. chap. 1, on the distinction between the visible and the invisible Church, and the requirements for membership of both.

on subsequent English theology, certainly fuller of living instruction to us, than any part of the more apologetic and polemic superstructure which he has raised upon it.

(B.) But I pass to the consideration of that superstructure itself in the fourth and fifth books.*

In these books are contained the defence of our Church worship and Ritual.

(*a*) The fourth book repels an attack on the ground, not of abstract demerit, but of a want of Apostolical simplicity †—of too great likeness to the Church of Rome,‡—of unlikeness to the system of foreign Protestant Churches abroad,§—of a derivation from the Judaic ceremonial of the Old Testament ‖—of the retention of that which had been hopelessly corrupted by idolatry.¶

Of these points some have little more than a historical interest. It is simply curious to observe (for example) the horror of isolation from foreign Protestant bodies, proceeding from a party which tended distinctly to Congregationalism and even to mere individualism in religion; and the implied claim of an authority for Calvin and his system, which was

* It is true that, as the first four books were first published, the fourth book might seem more naturally connected with the second and third. But examination shows it to be rather preparatory to the fifth book—the one defending our Church worship against charge of Popery—the other defending it on its merits.

† See chap. ii.

‡ See chaps. iii.–x.

§ See chap. xiii.

‖ See chap. xi.

¶ See chap. xii.

denied to the Papacy, and even to Catholic usage and law. But the two charges on which the main stress is laid, and which are of permanent interest, are the likeness to Rome, and the retention of what had been corrupted by her.

Now on these there was a time—which I can recollect—when Hooker's argument had for us its usefulness and necessity. It was a time when, in common parlance and in common thought, men had forgotten to distinguish the term "Romish" from the term "Catholic"—when they spoke as if the necessarily negative word "Protestant" was a full positive description of faith—when they understood but little the true principle of our English Reformation—when they had studied but imperfectly the origin, the growth, the distinguishing characteristics, of our Prayer Book—when any supposed likeness to Rome, even in points not distinctively Romish, was at all hazards denounced and condemned.

But that time has gone by, not for one school only, but in different degrees for all schools in the Church. To argue against an almost obsolete line of thought is simply to slay the slain.

Now, perhaps, it is rather in the caution and moderation of Hooker's argument that we may find our needful lesson. For unquestionably there is a rash tendency to copy what is characteristically Romish—forgetful that (thanks to the iron symmetry

of the Romish System) there is constantly involved, even in minute and beautiful ceremonial, what is distinctively and avowedly Romish in doctrine. With that tendency, and in defence of it, men are fond of quoting with a flippant decisiveness the proverb, "*Abusus non tollit usum*," not seeing that—while human nature is what it is, governed so largely by the power of even accidental association—it is almost as great folly to apply that proverb with absolute unreserve, as to fall into the opposite error of denying it altogether. How can we doubt that, as there are ideas, so inseparably connected with ludicrous associations that they have lost their intrinsic solemnity, so there are rites so impregnated with associations of falsehood, that they cannot be used without endangering truth? Hooker, and our great divines of the more distinctively High Church school which succeeded him, were far too wise to adopt this rash and shallow argument. Living at a time when men knew by recent painful experience the corruption and the yoke of Rome, they treated seriously, with careful discrimination, the charges which some would now dispose of by an easy sneer. They dealt with each case (as the compilers of the Prayer Book did) on its own merits. They retained here; they rejected there. For both maintenance and rejection they knew how to give weighty reasons. Even here, therefore, from Hooker and his successors the nineteenth century may learn.

(*b*) But, undoubtedly, far more valuable, and rightly far more carefully studied, is the defence in the great Fifth book of the worship of our Church upon its own merits.

I have neither time nor desire to examine that book in the width of its scope—especially as on almost every point it is singularly instructive and suggestive. In careful and exhaustive treatment, it leads its readers from the consideration of the material fabric of our Churches,* through the discussion of the various forms of teaching God's Word ;† the examination of the principle of a Liturgy, and then of all the various parts and accessories of our Prayer-Book worship ;‡ the doctrine of the Sacraments and their forms of ministration ; § the principles of Fast and Festival ; ‖ the details of our Occasional Services ; ¶ the three Orders, and even the accidents of our ministry and parochial system.** No wonder that from time immemorial it has been studied, as the best commentary on our Prayer Book. Much of its merely polemical work is dead ; some little deserved to die. But, underlying polemics, there is a mass of what is positive—thought and learning, nobleness and spirituality of tone—which will live (I believe) as long as the English language itself.

It is rather to the general character of Hooker's

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* Chaps. xi.–xvii.
† Chaps. xviii.–xxii.
‡ Chaps. xxiii.–xlix.
§ Chaps. l.–lxviii.
‖ Chaps. lxix.–lxxii.
¶ Chaps. lxxiii.–lxxv.
** Chaps. lxxvi.–lxxxi.

theological treatment of this wide range of subjects that I would direct attention.

The one leading characteristic—to my mind simply invaluable—is the same determination as before, to escape from bewildering contests of detail to the freer, healthier atmosphere of general principles.

How characteristic it is that, before he will begin the discussion of that which is as the visible body of the religious spirit, he arrests the attention of all—not of theologians or scholars only, but of every thinking man—by dwelling on the effects on human society of Religion, Atheism, Superstition: the first to inspire and ennoble; the second to deaden and degrade; the third to distort and pervert!* He knew well—what shallow thinkers are apt to forget—that outward custom, ritual, phraseology must inevitably involve principles; and that there are no principles which so powerfully affect society for good or for evil, as religious principles. The whole form, basis, tone of society are changed, according as religion or irreligion rules, and according as the religion which is dominant is false or true, sensuous or spiritual. Probably on all sides that teaching is

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* See chaps. i.–iii. Hooker's toleration towards religious error is large, singular for his time, and hardly excelled since. But (like Locke) he excludes atheists from toleration, and against this "execrable crew" of "forlorn creatures" he cries out for "the decree of Nabuchodonosor."

accepted now. Christianity is honoured everywhere —as by enthusiastic love, so by intense and undying hatred. A glance at the whole history of our day will tell us that the indifference, which looked upon all religious controversies as on "the battles of kites and crows," has long passed away.

But he passes to the discussion itself, and he will not examine its details, before he has laid down his great leading principles of Church Ritual and Order.

The first is substantially the great principle of Symbolism.* Form, rite, ceremony there must be; they are as the outward body of religion. The great question always must be, not "Are the limbs of that body in themselves beautiful?" but, "What is the expression of the face?" "What is the soul that looks through them?" All other questions are questions of degree. They turn on the proper function of the imagination, and on the characteristics of different ages, different races, different standards of education. But two questions are absolute—"What idea does Ritual symbolize?" "Is this idea true or false?" Both are hard to answer. Perhaps the greatest difficulty (which makes all decisions of doctrine on questions of Ritual unsatisfactory) is to

* See chap. vi. "The first thing is . . . when there ariseth apparent reason competent to show their conveniency and fitness, in regard to the use for which they should serve." "That which inwardly each man should be, the Church outwardly ought to testify." "Signs must resemble the things they signify"

answer the former question clearly. Who has a right (for example) to say what the "Eastward position" necessarily symbolizes?* But still in days of Ritual controversy, petty as it may seem in itself, it seems to me infinitely important to keep Hooker's principle in mind. All Ritual symbolizes something; its power to steal on the mind through the imagination is great. It cannot be matter of indifference or degree whether we have that which symbolizes falsehood, or that which symbolizes truth. Our Church of England has obviously held this to be the case, by imposing a set form of Ritual and worship, which has told powerfully on doctrine and spiritual tone. Hooker is surely right in thinking that its maintenance against all unauthorised infringements, on the right hand and on the left, is a matter not of detail or of mere order, but of principle. We certainly have had the lesson which he taught forced upon our attention with a greater clearness and gravity than even in his critical days. His teaching should still have a living meaning for us.

The second principle is that which lay at the very root of the composition of the Prayer Book—that all ritual and order, thus symbolizing truth, should never unnecessarily depart from primitive custom,

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* For example, the Eastward position (as use at the Litany and the Creed shows) is often a position of worship. The barest Zuinglianism must recognise worship in the Holy Communion, and might adopt the Eastward position accordingly.

and so should carry with it the authority of the ancient undivided Church.* Where the standard of truth is, there must the standard of ritual, as symbolizing truth, should be. This principle is simply the historical principle, which is brought out more fully in relation to Church government.

Clearly in respect of Ritual it can but apply to the main lines of principle, as, for example, in relation to the great Liturgies of early days. In lesser matters it can hardly hold, except as a defence against frivolous and wanton objections. Certainly the compilers of our Prayer Book showed that they would have thought it folly to apply it slavishly to the details, which must vary in different ages. But in regard of those main principles it has an important truth and value. In Ritual, more than even in great theological writings, can we trace the actual faith of the Primitive Church. In Ritual we trace with singular clearness the gradual accretion of the peculiarly Romish doctrines, which our Church has rejected. In the distinction, therefore, between what

* See chap. vii. "Neither may we in this case lightly esteem what hath been allowed as fit by the judgment of antiquity, and by the long-continued practice of the whole Church, from which unnecessarily to swerve, experience hath never as yet found it safe." It is curious that Hooker has fallen into the error of comparing the judgment of antiquity to the judgment of old age, whereas in this respect Bacon warns us that "we are the true ancients," and that the early ages are the ages of the world's youth. But the error does not affect the argument. What has stood the test of centuries is now really "old" in his sense of the word.

is Romish and what is Catholic, this principle of general accordance with primitive Ritual must always play a very considerable part.

And his third principle is one of paramount importance. It is the plea that there should be a living authority in our own branch of the Church, both to enact and to dispense, both to lay down order and from time to time to modify it.* Otherwise, he forcibly urges, there cannot be any unity in worship. For time must bring some changes, and these changes must be sanctioned by some authority. If this does not exist, or if it cannot act, what can be our guide? Whether a man listens to the voice of his own conscience, or what he calls the "voice of the Church," as interpreted by himself, the result must equally be anarchy, confusion, disruption. It is impossible to doubt the soundness of his principle, either considered in the abstract, or illustrated by our own experience of the evils resulting from its long abeyance.

It is, indeed, a marvel that in using a Ritual, almost

* Hooker divides this axiom into two parts. In chap. viii. he dwells on the former part, that "the Church being a body that dieth not, hath always power, as occasion requireth, no less to ordain that which never was, than to ratify what hath been before." In chap. ix. he urges that it may not seem "hard, if in cases of necessity, or for common utility's sake, certain profitable ordinances sometime be released, rather than all men be strictly bound to the general rigour thereof." But the two clearly hang together, and may, for the sake of simplicity, be considered as one.

unmodified by authority for two hundred years, our Church should have felt so little burden. It is fair to argue from this fact that great must have been the wisdom with which it was framed, and large the liberty and variety existent under it. But still neglect of right principle will avenge itself. A Church, for its well-being, must have legislative, as well as judicial and executive powers. If the greatest of these—the legislative power—lies virtually in abeyance, its province will be usurped by the lower powers on the one hand, or by individual vagary of minister or congregation on the other. There cannot ultimately be peace, or a reduction of all controverted questions to their proper dimensions, unless Hooker's principle be realized.

Here, as before, it is on Hooker's resolution to dig down through superficial controversy to the solid ground of first principles that the permanent value of his great work depends. The Puritan controversy itself passed by. But in the principles here laid down he struck a keynote, taken up again and again by Anglican theology. Nor is it hard to find in them, *mutatis mutandis*, guidance for the questions and difficulties of our own times.

It would not be difficult to trace in the various details of his defence of Church order the same firm grasp of far-reaching and permanent principles. But one example—the noblest of all—will suffice. We turn to that celebrated section where, dealing

with the one most important point of Church ordinance—the doctrine and the ritual of the Sacraments—he bases the whole sacramental doctrine on the deep fundamental truth of the Incarnation itself. There we observe with what masterly precision he first sketches out the great truth of "God in Christ," and the reunion of the two natures in Him, ἀληθῶς, τελέως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀσυγχύτως, as the conception was slowly wrought out through inquiry, controversy, heresy, in the ancient Church.* We follow, with the close attention which it needs, the depth and subtlety of thought with which he works out, next, the conception of a real presence of Christ, in the perfect harmony of His twofold nature, both in His Church and in His elect, to justify and to sanctify the soul.† We see that then, and not till then, he proceeds to treat the Sacraments, in relation to the general indwelling of Christ, and declares how "Sacraments do serve to make us partakers of Him."‡ Singularly instructive to the theologian is this profound unity of treatment, connecting sacramental doctrine with the very foundation of our Christianity. Not less instructive to the Church at large, in especial reference to the second great Sacrament, is that passage of earnest and impressive eloquence, which urges that, among all who hold not that bare

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* See chaps. li.–liv. † See chaps. lv.–lvi.
‡ Chaps. lvii.–lviii.

Zuinglian theory which our Church expressly repudiates, there are these great fundamental points of agreement *—that it is a real participation of Christ—that it is a real means of the grace of the Holy Ghost—that in it there is accordingly a justification through Christ's blood, and sanctification of the soul—that all rests simply and solely on the ordinance of the Lord Himself; and that—all this being accepted—we should inquire and dispute no farther, but meet as brethren in that Holy Communion which ought to be the very bond of peace.†

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* See chap. lxvii. sect. 2.

† See the close of chap. lxvii. sect. 12.

"Let it therefore be sufficient for me, presenting myself at the Lord's Table, to know what there I receive from him, without searching or enquiring of the manner how Christ performeth his promise; let disputes and questions, enemies to piety, abatements of true devotion, and hitherto in this cause but overpatiently heard, let them take their rest; let curious and sharp-witted men beat their heads about what questions themselves will, the very letter of the word of Christ giveth plain security that these mysteries do as nails fasten us to his very cross; that by them we draw out, as touching efficacy, force, and virtue, even the blood of his gored side; in the wounds of our Redeemer we there dip our tongues; we are dyed red both within and without; our hunger is satisfied, and our thirst for ever quenched. They are things wonderful which he feeleth, great which he seeth, and unheard of which he uttereth, whose soul is possessed of this Paschal Lamb, and made joyful in the strength of this new wine; this bread hath in it more than the substance which our eyes behold; this cup, hallowed with solemn benediction, availeth to the endless life and welfare both of soul and body, in that it serveth, as well for a medicine to heal our infirmities and purge our sins, as for a sacrifice of thanksgiving; with touching it sanctifieth, it enlighteneth with belief, it truly conformeth us into the image of Jesus Christ; what these elements

Very notable to my mind are certain negative points of detail in his treatment. It is surely notable that, while stoutly defending the surplice against the charge that it is a "rag of Popery," "a sacrament of idolatry" and the like, he never dreams of any other vestments.* Notable that in all his treatment, while there is much of the Sacrament, there is hardly any reference to Sacrifice, even in the sense, which subsequent Anglican usage has sanctioned; and (in dealing hereafter with the title of priest) there is an express declaration that "sacrifice is now no part of the Church ministry."† Notable that of Elevation, of Adoration of a local Presence, of Fasting Communion as a duty, there is not a word.

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are in themselves it skilleth not; it is enough that to me which take them they are the body and blood of Christ, his promise in witness hereof sufficeth, his word he knoweth which way to accomplish; why should any cogitation possess the mind of a faithful communicant but this, 'O, my God, thou art true, O, my soul, thou art happy'?"

Hooker's own view is absolutely clear (sect. 6): "The real presence of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood is not to be sought in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament." But he is content to put aside all discussions of theory, and to meet on the basis of the Ὁμολογούμενα, which he gives above.

* See chap. xxix. It is true that the reference is to public prayer; but there are quotations from St. Jerome and St. Chrysostom connecting the subject with the administration of the Holy Communion, and it is clear that Cartwright dealt with the surplice in that connection. If other vestments had not been practically obsolete, it seems impossible that they should not have been specially mentioned for attack and defence.

† See chap. lxxviii. 2.

But it is rather on the great positive lines of his argument that I would dwell.

In that reference of all to the Incarnation, it is significantly implied that, when we can form a theory of the method of the union of the two natures of our Blessed Lord, then, and not till then, shall we be able rightly to theorize as to the method of sacramental efficacy, uniting the soul in Christ to God. In that general exposition of a real presence of Christ in the Church, I trace again an all-important truth—in the refusal to restrict that real presence to the Holy Communion, and to separate that great Sacrament absolutely from all other means of His presence with us, and therefore from that law of spiritual and conditional reception, which in all others is acknowledged by all. In that noble plea for unity on the basis of essential truth, and for reverent abstinence from rash controversies of over-definition, I trace the spirit which rules in our Prayer Book, and which has been the guiding principle of our English Church.

In these things, again, Hooker speaks to us. It is most unhappy, yet it may be inevitable, that, just as in the English Reformation, so now—when its basis is openly or virtually attacked—round what should be the very shrine of peace and reverence there should rage a strife of angry tongues, the precursor (it may be) of schism and disruption. But through that strife if we are to pass safely, I cannot but think that Hooker's main principles will be our best guide.

(C.) But I pass, next, to the third great section of his work, published in partial incompleteness after his death, which deals with Church government.

Its object was to resist the imposition on the Church of Presbyterian government, as of Divine Scriptural right, to defend the principle of Episcopal government, and the right function of the Royal Supremacy.

(*a*) The first section on the claim for Lay Eldership of Divine Right, contained in the sixth book, has utterly perished. We can hardly doubt that it has been wilfully destroyed; for that it existed and was carefully discussed with his friends we have satisfactory proof.* After the Introduction, all else is gone: a fragment is substituted, evidently from Hooker's hand, on the administration of Church discipline, Confession, and Absolution, directed in its argument rather against Rome than against Geneva.

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* This is incontrovertibly established by Mr. Keble in his Preface, first by examination of the present sixth book itself, next by comparison with a MS. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which contains remarks and criticisms by Sandys and George Cranmer on Hooker's original draft. There seems no sufficient reason to doubt the account which Walton gives of a confession by Hooker's widow to the Bishop of London, that after his death his MSS. were torn and burnt by "Mr. Charke and another minister that dwelt near Canterbury." The sixth book would certainly be the most obnoxious to the adherents of the Puritan party. Bishop Andrewes, in a letter written immediately on the news of Hooker's death, expresses his fear that they might be "embezelled and come to nothing," or, if not, perhaps fall into hands which might mutilate or suppress them.

It is hardly necessary to say that it stands up firmly, and decisively against the assertion of Auricular Confession and Private Absolution as a "Sacrament of Penance," or that it meets the bold claim of Catholic authority for such assertion, by investigating the well-known historical growth of the practice in the Church. At that time no one, professing to hold the Anglican position, would have dreamt of using any other language. At that time no one could possibly ignore or forget the fatal effect of the imposition of the system, on Christian liberty, on individual responsibility, on the true relation of laity and clergy in the Church. This fragment of Hooker will reward careful study. But I pass it by with brief notice, because it lies outside the great work, with which we are at present concerned.

(*b*) The other two books remain, taken from Hooker's rough drafts, and therefore imperfect in some parts, and perhaps interpolated in others, but in substantial preservation.*

Let us glance first at the argument for Episcopacy, and at the treatment of Apostolical succession, in the seventh book.

In the defence of Episcopacy it seems clear enough that in Hooker, as in the authoritative

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* On this, again, see Keble's Preface. The last three books were not published till about fifty years after Hooker's death.

documents of the Church of England,* it is the historical method of argument (in itself all but unassailable) which is followed. Episcopacy was attacked on two sides in the name of Divine right. The Pope, as the Vicar of Christ, claimed to override and to extenuate its authority.† The Puritan party, on the plea of a Scriptural title for their own Presbyterian government, denounced it utterly as an usurpation. The time was to come, ere long, from the day of Bancroft's celebrated Sermon at Paul's Cross onwards, when both attacks were to be not only met, but retorted, by the claim of a Divine right for Episcopacy,‡ gradually (though with a hesitation widely different from the sweeping assertions of later days) tending to "unchurch" non-Episcopal bodies. But it had not come yet. Hooker refers to a cognate form of this trenchant argument as the shortest way against his antagonists, but expressly refuses to take it.§ It seems, indeed, toler-

* Compare Art. xxiii., emphasizing the mission and the authority of the ministry in itself, as called and sent by "those who have publick authority given them in the congregation," with the statement in the Preface to the Ordinal, "It is evident that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church: Bishops, Priests, and Deacons."

† See, for example, the struggle on this subject in the Council of Trent.

‡ Heylin, when he entitles Laud "Cyprianus Anglicanus," indicates by a true instinct the position of the school which he represents, in the assertion of Episcopacy against both antagonists.

§ See Book III. chap. x. sect. 8. His words are very strong. "The very best way for us, and the strongest against them, were to

ably clear, that as he went on with his great work, the claim of Episcopacy to a distinctly Apostolic derivation, strengthened itself by investigation in his mind. Between the third and the seventh books, there is surely considerable difference of tone.* But the main character of his argument remains the same. His principles are simply these. First, all the promises and blessings of the Church belong to it as a whole. Next, there being no formal rule of Church polity laid down in Holy Scripture, the form of government lay in the power of the Church itself to determine. Thirdly, from the beginning, even from Apostolic times, that form has been Episcopal. "A thousand five hundred years and upward the Church of Christ hath now continued under the sacred regiment of Bishops.†

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hold, even as they do, that in Scripture there must needs be found some particular form of Church polity, which God hath instituted, and which for that very cause belongeth to all Churches to all times. But with any such partial eye to respect ourselves, and by cunning to make those things seem the truest which are the fittest for our purpose, is a thing which we neither like nor mean to follow."

* Hooker seems to avow this in Book VIII., chap. xi., sect. 8: "I did myself sometimes judge it a great deal more probable than I do now, merely that, after the apostles were deceased, churches did agree among themselves, for preservation of peace and order, to make one presbyter in each city chief over the rest." But it is sufficiently evident in the whole tone of the book. See Mr. Keble's Preface, and a pamphlet by Bishop Wordsworth (of St. Andrews) in controversy with Principal Tulloch, "A Plea for Justice to Presbyterian Students of Theology, and the Episcopal Church."

† Book VII., chap. i., sect. 4.

Hence, lastly, even taking the lower view of universal Church custom, it is rash and presumptuous to overthrow it; but, taking "the generally received persuasion, held from the first beginning, that the Apostles themselves left Bishops invested with power," it may be "boldly and peremptorily" concluded that "if anything in the Church's government, surely the first constitution of Bishops was from Heaven, was even of God; the Holy Ghost was the author of it." On these principles he examines historically the existence and authority of Bishops from the earliest times; he distinguishes (with a good sense and honesty, not always found in champions of Episcopacy) the assertion of the Episcopal office from the criticism of the Scriptural use of the name Ἐπίσκοπος, and the accessories of the office, in dignity, in scope of administration, in degree of secular power, from the office itself. His theoretical conclusion is that which all historical investigation strengthens every day—"Episcopacy has been, and is, and therefore, it ought to be reverenced and preserved," rather than, "It ought to be in the abstract, and therefore it has been and it is." His practical conclusion is that which the Church of England has drawn—to preserve that government for herself, on the ground of an Apostolic origin, yet never to declare that they who have it not are by this cut off from the Church of Christ, and thrown back simply on an individual Christianity.

Since his day that question has been discussed by various schools of thought. Historical criticism has (I think) strengthened the claims of Episcopacy to Apostolic derivation; experience in the Church has certainly shown its practical value as a system, and its intimate connection with most important elements of primitive Church ordinance and spirit. But still it may be doubted whether we are not on all sides coming back substantially to Hooker's leading principles, asserting them boldly on the ground of historical truth, and refusing to be tempted by the apparent necessities of controversy to assert more.

(*c*) But, lastly, I come to his exposition in the eighth book of the principle of the Royal Supremacy, —what it is, what it means.

In Hooker we find distinctly formulated the principle which guided our English Reformation—the claim of a conditioned independence of National Churches. I need not say that in his view it was conditioned, not only by Holy Scripture, but by the relation to the Church Catholic, of which it formed a part—a relation binding it to certain great laws of constitution, and submitting its actions to the supremacy of a true General Council.

But what is a National Church? He leaves us in no doubt whatever. Considering the true historical growth of the Church of England, rather than any abstract definition of what, under different circum-

stances, it might have been, he lays down clearly the principles implied again and again, alike in the Statutes of the Realm, and the Constitution of the Church. To speak of any relations between Church and State as two separate bodies would have seemed to him absurd. They were simply co-extensive. "There is not" (he says) "any member of the commonwealth which is not also a member of the Church."* True, that men were born into the one, baptized into the other. But in those days to be unbaptized was a thing so monstrous as

* See Book VIII. chap. i. sect. 2. The whole of the well-known passage deserves quotation:— "With us therefore the name of a church importeth only a society of men, first united into some public form of regiment, and secondly distinguished from other societies by the exercise of Christian religion. With them on the other side the name of the Church in this present question importeth not only a multitude of men so united and so distinguished, but also further the same divided necessarily and perpetually from the body of the commonwealth; so that even in such a politic society as consisteth of none but Christians, yet the Church of Christ and the commonwealth are two corporations, independently each subsisting by itself.

"We hold, that seeing there is not any man of the Church of England but the same man is also a member or the commonwealth; nor any man a member of the commonwealth which is not also of the Church of England; therefore as in a figure triangular the base doth differ from the sides thereof, and yet one and the selfsame line is both a base and also a side; a side simply, a base if it chance to be the bottom and underlie the rest: so, albeit properties and actions of one kind do cause the name of a commonwealth, qualities and functions of another sort the name of a Church to be given unto a multitude, yet one and the selfsame multitude may in such sort be both, and is so with us, that no person appertaining to the one can be denied to be also of the other."

to condemn to a virtual outlawry. True, that men had civil duties to the whole community as a State, spiritual duties to it as a Church. But in those days to refuse the one was held as much a treason as to refuse the other.

The Royal Supremacy* in the Church in itself meant (as we have already said) what it did in the State—the assertion of National Unity and Independence. As against the Papal Supremacy—the culmination of sacerdotal pretension—it also meant the distinct assertion of the authority of the whole body over the clergy, as being only a part of the Church.† But, in both Church and State the Royal authority was meant to be a Constitutional authority. Every attempt to make it despotic proceeded *pari passu* in both; the Star Chamber and

* Hooker is exceedingly careful to define and limit the Headship attached to the Crown, in contradistinction to the Supreme Headship of Christ. But it was safer and wiser to exchange the title altogether (as Elizabeth did) for one which expressed clearly that "in terming our princes heads of the Church, we do but testify that we acknowledge them as Governors."

† See Book VIII. chap. ii. sect. 4. "Unto which supreme power in kings two kinds of adversaries there are that have opposed themselves; one sect defending that supreme power in causes ecclesiastical throughout the world appertaineth of divine right to the Bishop of Rome; in other sect that the said power belonging in every national Church unto the clergy thereof assembled. We did defend as well as against the one as against the other." See also chap. vi. sect. 8. "It is a thing most consonant with equity and reason that no ecclesiastical law be made in a Christian commonwealth, without consent as well of the laity as of the clergy; but least of all without consent of the highest power."

the High Commission Court were twin-born instruments of absolutism. All laws regulating the Church were to be passed by the whole body, the clergy in Convocation, the laity in Parliament, with the assent of the Crown.* So passed, the supreme judicial and executive authority, to ascertain and enforce them, lay naturally in the Crown, as "supreme in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil."

This was the system which Hooker contemplated as existent, and determined to defend. No absolutist was he. Whatever his respect for authority, there

* See chap. vii. sect. 11. "The Parliament of England, together with the Convocation annexed thereunto, is that whereupon the very essence of all government within this kingdom doth depend; it is even the body of the whole realm; it consisteth of the king, and of all that within the land are subject unto him: for they all are there present, either in person or by such as they voluntarily have derived their very personal right unto. The Parliament is a court not so merely temporal as if it might meddle with nothing but only leather and wool. . . ."

"The most natural and religious course in making of laws is, that the matter of them be taken from the judgment of the wisest in those things which they are to concern. In matters of God, to set down a form of public prayer, a solemn confession of the articles of Christian faith, rites and ceremonies meet for the exercise of religion; it were unnatural not to think the pastors and bishops of our souls a great deal more fit, than men of secular trades and callings: howbeit, when all which the wisdom of all sorts can do is done for devising of laws in the Church, it is the general consent of all that giveth them the form and vigour of laws, without which they could be no more unto us than the counsels of physicians to the sick: well might they seem as wholesome admonitions and instructions, but laws could they never be without consent of the whole Church, which is the only thing that bindeth each member of the Church, to be guided by them."

is in him no shadow of that false inference from the "Divine Right" of Kings, of absolutism in the Crown and the duty of passive obedience in the subject, which was the fatal error of the great divines of the Stuart period. What he said as to authority over civil society, he would have said, with equal emphasis at least, in relation to the ecclesiastical. "For any prince or potentate, without express commission from God, to exercise the same of himself —it is no better than mere tyranny." For, undoubtedly, he held that the action of the Church, the clergy, and the laity alike, had the spiritual authority derived from the blessing and the indwelling presence of Christ. It were worse than tyranny to set this aside, or override it.

Such was Hooker's system, certainly in itself plain, simple, and coherent, in relation to the state of things which then existed. It was, indeed, but the formulation of the principles on which Church action in England, especially in the Reformation, but even before the Reformation, had long proceeded. It acknowledged (as our Article does) a limitation of the Royal power, by the existence of a sacred Ministry, which that power could neither exercise nor confer. For conflict between the royal and the ministerial power it saw no necessity, and laid down no rule.

But I need hardly say that now the condition of things then existing is of the past. From the

day that Nonconformity was first tolerated, then gradually recognised, and relieved of all civil disability, it passed away as a complete and coherent system; though traces of it remain still in our laws. The Puritan contention (opposed by Hooker) "that the Church and the commonwealth are two societies, of which the one comprehendeth always persons not belonging to the other," is now realised unquestionably in fact.

Hooker's argument, as such, is made obsolete by this change. But it has still a twofold interest. First it illustrates to us, with an unmistakable precision and completeness, what was the great principle involved in the Royal Supremacy, as recognised at the Reformation,* and warns us against common fallacies, which strangely misunderstand its nature. Next, it suggests to us that they are really pursuing the policy which made the Church of England what it has been, who endeavour, *mutatis mutandis*, to secure now some similar government for the Church—a government which shall fully recognise the rights of the laity—a government which shall claim the power to legislate for the Church, with the same authority and the same faith as in the days gone by, refusing to

* Of course, I do not mean that there were in practice no deviations from it. In the conflict against the Papal authority men caught often very rashly at the only authority which could be set up against it, and which in England—with whatever theoretical inconsistency—had constantly defied and limited it for centuries past.

believe that the Church of the nineteenth century is inferior in that authority and in the grounds of that faith to the Church of the sixteenth. No doubt there is this important difference attaching to all religious bodies, that in the ultimate resort, some supremacy of a State, now larger than any religious body within it, must be recognised over all; and that over an Established Church there are special rights, in virtue of Establishment, which the Church—unless they make disestablishment a spiritual necessity—must be content to acknowledge. But this difference, great as it is, touches not the main point. Self-government, in some sense, has been, from the days of the Reformation onwards, claimed for the Church of England. On its right to self-government Hooker (I repeat) speaks to us now.

IV. These are (as it seems to me) the great theological principles of Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity.' It is as a theologian alone that I desire to regard him. Therefore I do not think it necessary to dwell at any length on the place which he occupies, by consent of all, in our English literature. After the English Bible and the English Prayer Book, his is (be it remembered) almost the first great work of English prose. No one can well fail to appreciate the dignity and massive eloquence of his style; stately, indeed, and at times intricate, but never obscure or cumbrous: now glowing with a grave enthusiasm, now lighted up by a grave yet forcible

humour. No one, comparing him with other divines of his own and the succeeding generation, can look without wonder and admiration on the profound learning, often implied rather than expressed, so borne as to be free from all cumbrousness, always strengthening, never overloading, his reasoning. No one can be blind to the singular fairness of argument, and the well-balanced comprehensiveness of idea, which have won for him the title of "the judicious." In all these points it is, indeed, marvellous to note how the newborn English prose starts out in him full armed, in some excellences, at least, afterwards unsurpassed.

But it is with his theological principles that we have to do. Their importance lies first (as I have said) in the fact that by him we see, brought out in clear, explicit words, the chief principles which, implied and embodied in the Reformation, fixed our Anglican position from the first, on a basis far different from the artificial groundwork of the foreign Protestantism, and the shifting foundations of the Gallican system.

It lies next in the fact that Hooker, although he founded—perhaps because he founded—no especial school, has, perhaps more than any other single writer, given to our Anglican theology a tone and a direction which it has never lost.

But, most of all, to my mind, it lies in the fact that his principles have a depth and breadth and

soundness, which enables them, in a very special degree, to live still, so as, *mutatis mutandis*, to deal even with present controversies, and to guide us even in our present trials.

These results at any time might well reward careful study of his works. But at this time especially—a time critical enough both of creeds and institutions—but a time (thank God!) of much excitement of religious thought, much revival of spiritual enthusiasm, much quickening of practical activity—perhaps our greatest want of all is that of a deep and true theology. Any study, whether of the past or the present, which may contribute, even slightly, to filling up that need, must tend in its measure to the well-being of humanity, and therefore to the glory of God.

LANCELOT ANDREWES, D.D.,

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

BORN 1555; DIED 1626.

Place of Andrewes in the history of the English Church and English theology.—Contemporary both with Hooker and Laud. —Contrast with Hooker.—Influence of Andrewes from position in society, public character, sermons, &c., friendships, connection with events of James I.'s reign.—Carries on Hooker's resistance to Puritanism and Calvinistic theology.—Returns to Primitive Church as standard and model.—Consistency with ideas of the Reformation.—Reformation not a single event or epoch, but a long process of attempted improvement; unsystematic, tentative, progressive: tendency to combine and reconcile old and new.—Dangers to religion in James I.'s reign: 1. Shock to authority. 2. Roman aggressiveness and strength. 3. Exclusive claims, theological and ecclesiastical, of Puritanism.—Andrewes reverts to Early Church theology, for larger and more primitive teaching.—Effect on thought, and on controversy, of increased learning.—Andrewes a controversialist, directly against Rome: character of the Roman controversy in his hands.—Opposition of Puritanism, indirect, in exhibition of positive, higher, more precise teaching.—His sermons.—Andrewes, in his inner and spiritual life.—His "Devotions."—How they illustrate his preaching.—Difficulties of his position.—What he did, and did not do. 1. Failed to check immediate victory of Puritanism: connection of his school with Stuart political doctrines. 2. Permanently enlarged and elevated theology of the English and Reformed Church: established its true relations to the ancient and the universal Church.

BISHOP ANDREWES holds an important place in the line of those English divines who have affected the

course of English theology. Only two years younger than Hooker, his life and his influence were prolonged for more than a quarter of a century after Hooker's comparatively early death.* He had been Hooker's contemporary, a student and labourer in the same field, perhaps his friend, certainly his admirer, in the later years of Elizabeth; and when Elizabeth's world, and Hooker's, closed with the sixteenth century, Andrewes lived on, and won his fame in the new world which opened with the seventeenth. His mind and character were those of a man who had come to middle age, and passed beyond it, under the last of the Tudors.† With this training and experience, the main work of his life coincided nearly with the reign of the first of the Stuarts.‡ Thus, though belonging to Hooker's generation, he lived to see Charles I. on the throne, and Laud in his first bishopric, and to be looked up to and studied by the men of Laud's generation as the greatest living theologian of the English Church. He is the connecting link between Hooker and Laud,§ and after Laud, Cosin and Jeremy Taylor and Hammond, Ken and Bull, Beveridge and Bishop Wilson.‖

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* Hooker, b. 1553 .. .. Andrewes, b. 1555.
Hooker, d. 1600 .. .. Andrewes, d. 1626.

† Eliz. d. 1603.

‡ James I. d. 1625; Andrewes d. 1626.

§ See Hallam, Const. Hist. ii. 62. Literature, ii. 308.

‖ See footnote on opposite page.

Of Andrewes' long life there is not much to be said. It was the life, during the first part of it, of a severe and resolute student, unsparing of time and labour. His morning hours of study were to the last jealously guarded; the rare exceptions to his usual sweetness and gentleness of temper were provoked by those who disturbed these hours. "They were no true scholars," he used to say, "who came to speak with him before noon." He became specially distinguished as a "Catechetical" teacher, both at College and in London, and he was "deeply seen in cases of

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The following comparative dates may be convenient:—

Hooker.	Andrewes.	Bacon.	Field.	Donne.	Laud.
b. 1553;	b. 1555;	b. 1560–1;	b. 1561;		
M.A., 1577;		Gray's Inn, 1577;		b. 1573;	b. 1573;
	M.A., 1578;	In Parlmt.,			
Temple, 1584;	St. Paul's, 1589;	1584;	..	At Linc.'s Inn, 1590;	
Boscombe, 1591;					
E. P. i.—iv., 1594;	..	..	Linc.'s Inn, 1594;	With Essex, 1596;	
E.P. v., 1597;	..	..	..	..	M.A., 1598;
d. 1600.	Dean of Westmr., 1601;	..	..	M. 1603, or 1604;	
	Bp. Chiches., 1605;	Sol.-Gen., 1607;			
	Bishop Ely, 1609;	..	..	Ordained, 1613?	President St. John's, 1611;
			d. 1616.		
	Bp. Winton., 1619;	Chancellor, 1618–19;	..	..	Dn. Glouc., 1615;
	..	Sentenced, 1621;	..	Dn. St. Paul's, 1621;	Bishop St. David's, 1621;
	d. Sept., 1626.	d. April, 1626.	..	..	Bp. B. & W., 1626; Bp. Lond., 1628;
				d. 1631.	Abp. Cant., 1633.

conscience." At St. Paul's, where he was Canon, he read the Divinity Lecture three times a week in term time; and he is described as walking about the aisle, ready to give advice and spiritual counsel to any who sought it. At Westminster, where he was Dean, he took the greatest interest in the boys of the school. He would come into school and teach them himself, during the absence of the master. Bishop Hacket, a Westminster scholar under him, records his care about their studies and the books they read, and describes his walks to Chiswick "with a brace of his young fry," and his "dexterity in that wayfaring leisure, to fill these narrow vessels with a funnel."* When he was called into public employment, he lived, as great Church officers did in those days, through a round of sermons, Court attendances, and judicial or ecclesiastical business, varied by occasional controversies and sharp encounters, on paper or face to face, with the numberless foes and detractors of the English Church and State;—from great Cardinals, like Bellarmine and Duperron, to obscure sectaries, like Barrow and Mr. Traske, the reviver of a mongrel Judaism.† It was the life of many men of that period. What is specially to be noticed in his case, is the high standard which was recognised both in his learning and his life. "Our

* Henry Isaacson's Life, with Notes, in Mr. Bliss' edition of Andrewes, vol. vii. pp. vii., viii., xviii., xxxvi.

† Bliss' edition, vii. pp. ix. 81.

oracle of learning;" "the renowned Bishop of Winchester;" "the matchless Bishop Andrewes;" "that oracle of our present times"—these phrases of Bishop Hall express the admiration and reverence of his contemporaries. He was a man in whom scholars like Grotius and Casaubon acknowledged an erudition and an enthusiasm for wide and thorough knowledge akin to their own. Bacon, remembering in his day of trouble his "ancient and private acquaintance" with Andrewes, who survived him by a few months, submitted his writings to his friend's criticism, and took pleasure in unfolding to him the great plan of the 'Instauratio.'* Andrewes was himself an observer and lover of Nature. "He would often profess that to observe the grass, herbs, corn, trees, cattle, earth, waters, heavens, any of the creatures; and to contemplate their natures, orders, qualities, virtues, uses, &c., were ever to him the greatest mirth, content and recreation that could be, and this he held till his dying day."† And he was not only an observer, but in some departments an experimentalist. He was one of the few to whose sympathetic interest, as an observer of Nature, Bacon felt he could confidently appeal in his physical investigations, and in his daring attempt to put the knowledge of Nature on a new and sound basis. Andrewes had

* Letters and Life of Bacon, Spedding, vii. 371–375.

† Isaacson, p. vi.; Spedding, Bacon, iv. 24, 63.

also, in an eminent degree, what was the characteristic virtue of his time. He was always on the watch to seek out the promise of ability and worth in the poor and friendless, and to encourage by a noble liberality the learning of others. Loaded with preferment, after the custom of his day, he turned his revenues to large and public uses. He selected poor scholars and helped them. He was attentive, in a degree which attracted notice, for it was not common in the bishops of the time, to the claims upon his purse of the churches, institutions, or estates entrusted to his stewardship. He put his houses in good repair. He discharged out of his own income debts which he found hanging over a school or a hospital. He largely increased their permanent endowments, either by his gifts or his good husbandry. Bacon's thoughts turned to him as one likely to help towards the expense of costly researches and experiments. "He was single," Bacon writes, "and he was rich." And he was one of those large givers who prefer in their lifetime to incur the suspicion of parsimony rather than fall in with the mere conventional fashion of munificence expected from the wealthy.* In an age of much self-seeking, and many unscrupulous ways of getting rich, he was acknowledged and honoured as an example of genuine public spirit in his strict and

* Isaacson, p. xiv. *note.*

conscientious method of administration, in his patronage, and in an expenditure which, when the occasion called, could be princely.

All evidence attests the loveableness of his nature. The lives of scholars, especially of scholars in the days of Andrewes, have not usually had much to attract and interest those who do not share their aims and employments. But in the pictures which have been preserved to us of the relations between friends, there are few things more charming than what is disclosed of the effect produced by Andrewes' character and converse on the illustrious scholar who had sought a refuge in England from the intolerance and persecution, first of Geneva and then of Paris, Casaubon. The graciousness, considerateness, sympathy, with which Andrewes first welcomed Casaubon, growing, as the two men came to know each other better, into an affectionate tenderness, a delight in one another's company, not only among their books but in recreation, in visiting sights, in the enjoyment of the open air, are exhibited in Casaubon's letters. Casaubon's able biographer, Mr. Pattison, no favourable judge of Churchmen, or of those who spend their lives in the pursuits to which Andrewes devoted his, is not insensible to the noble and beautiful friendship between the two men, or to the attractions and sweetness of Andrewes' character. "Of all those whose piety was remarkable in that troubled age," says another discriminating, though not more lenient or friendly

writer, Mr. Gardiner,* "there was none who could bear comparison for spotlessness and purity of character with the good and gentle Andrewes. Going in and out as he did amongst the frivolous and grasping courtiers who gathered round the King, he seemed to live in a peculiar atmosphere of holiness, which prevented him from seeing the true nature of the evil times in which his lot had fallen." Perhaps in this he was not singular. It may be doubted whether any of us fully understand the true nature of either the good or the evil of the times in which our lot is cast. We, looking back to the past, can see much evil and much good, that the men of the past could not distinguish or recognise when it was near them and round them. But it would be well for the men of any age if they loved the good and hated the evil which they do recognise, with the sincerity and single-mindedness of Andrewes.

But the best men are under the prejudices and delusions of their time, and Andrewes was no exception. He was under the prejudices and delusions which surrounded the thrones and the persons of the Tudors and the Stuarts, as all were who served them. He is said to have been one of the bishops who sanctioned the burning of the Arian Leggat.† To us this is rightly and naturally shocking. It was not

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* History of England, 1603–1616, ii. 33.

† Pattison, Life of Casaubon, 331; and Gardiner, ii. 43-45.

shocking, but necessary and right, to the whole religious world of the day—to Archbishop Abbot, who pressed it on and canvassed the judges who ordered it—to the great Puritan party. It was not shocking to the Church historian, Fuller; it was not shocking to Neal, the historian of the persecutions of the Puritans.* It is almost a greater surprise and disappointment to find Andrewes one of the majority in pronouncing for a divorce in the shameful Essex case, in which the harsh and narrow-minded Abbot, to his lasting honour, took the side of right and truth, though with the feeblest reasons, against wickedness and folly in high places.† What blinded the eyes of Andrewes in a case which to us seems so clear, we cannot tell, for his reasons for his opinion are not preserved. Yet he was not one who feared the face of man, even of the King. But in those troubled days, when men were reaping the penalties of the sin of many generations, and when the rebound from superstitious submission to the Pope had created the superstitious faith in the Divine Right of Kings as the only counterpoise to it, there seemed to be a fate which, in the course of a Churchman's life, exacted, at one time or other, the tribute of some unworthy compliance with the caprice or the passions of power; and the superstition must have been a

* Hook, Life of Abbot, pp. 267–70.

† Gardiner, ii. 92–96; Hook, Life of Abbot, p. 272.

strong one which could exact it from such a man as Andrewes to such a man as James.

But Andrewes was an important person not so much by what he did,—by a policy and an administration,—and not so much even by what he wrote, as by what he was known to be, and what he was known to think and hold on the questions of his day. Unlike Hooker, who was a writer, and a man little seen in the great world, Andrewes was by calling a preacher, and one who moved much in society, and left his mark on it by the qualities which tell on society,—quickness and brightness of parts, a ready and perfect command over large stores of knowledge, the strength of an original and well-furnished mind acting through rapid comprehension, play, and nimbleness of wit, and with this a sharpness and force of expression which made words remembered. It was this power which gave him his influence with James: and it is seen in his Sermons, of which the outward form is in curious contrast with the substance. In matter, no sermons like them had yet been preached in the English Church. If the stupendous facts of the Christian Creeds are true, no attention, no thought is too great for them; and their greatness, their connections, their harmony, their infinite relations to the system of God's government and discipline of mankind, and to the hopes and certainties of human life, are here set forth with a breadth, a subtlety, a firmness of touch, a sense of their reality, a fervour and reverence

of conviction, which have made the Sermons worthy and fruitful subjects of study to English theologians. They bear the marks of what we know they had, the most careful meditation, the most unsparing pains in arrangement and working out.* But to us of this day, it no doubt does surprise us to be told that—as was certainly the case—they were the most popular and admired sermons of the time. We hardly know how far in their present shape they are skeletons, which were filled up and illustrated in actual delivery. But a hearer of our day would be at once overwhelmed by the profusion and rush of ideas, and disconcerted by the sparseness of expansion and development. The majestic and connected eloquence which made Hooker's style so remarkable, is absolutely wanting. There is depth of thought and depth of feeling, fertility, energy—there are passages which disclose the imaginative and poetic side of a rich and beautiful mind. But the style is like the notes of the unceremonious discourse of a very animated and varied talker rather than the composition of a preacher. In its quaintness, its perpetual and unexpected allusions, its oddly treated quotations, its abrupt and rapid transitions, its fashion of tossing about single words, it is of the same kind as the style of much of Bacon's writings, especially his speeches. It belongs, in point of

* Isaacson, pp. xxv., xxxvi.

literary character, to the age before Hooker. It abounds in those quips and puns which are the almost invariable resource of early humour, playful or grave; in passages, too, of powerful irony, though the form of it sometimes raises a smile. Bacon, indeed, used to send his writings to Andrewes, "to mark whatsoever should seem to him either not current in the style, or harsh to credit and opinion, or inconvenient for the person of the writer."* Such a style satisfied and pleased the day, though it does not satisfy or please us; and we wonder, perhaps, that after a different standard had been set by Hooker, it could be endured. But students of English thought and literature are not deterred by the harsh fashions of Bacon's writings, and students of English theology will find, under the quaint form of Andrewes' Sermons, enough to justify his reputation as a divine, both in his own day and since.

I am glad to recall some comments on Bishop Andrewes' style, made long ago by a writer who has since become famous, and whose remarkable gifts the world learned in their full extent only at the moment when illness has disabled for the time one of the deepest and most original minds of our time. "Andrewes," wrote Dr. Mozley in 1842,† "has peculiarities of style, partly belonging to his age and partly

* Spedding, Bacon, iv. 141.

† British Critic, Jan. 1842, pp. 173–175.

his own, which considerably prejudice us against him at first, and to which, accustomed as we are to so much more flowing and regular a way of writing, we can never quite reconcile ourselves; but with these peculiarities of his own, he has also felicities of his own, which are displaying themselves at every step. His theological explanations show the connection of one great doctrine with another, the bearing of one great fact of Christianity upon another, with admirable decision and completeness. He is so quick and varied, so dexterous and rich in his combinations; he brings facts, types, prophecies, and doctrines together with such rapidity; groups, arranges, systematises, sets and resets them with such readiness of movement, that he seems to have a kind of ubiquity, and to be everywhere and in every part of the system at the same time. . . . He has everything in his head at once; not in the sense in which a puzzle-headed person may be said to have, who has *every idea confused* in his mind because he has *no one idea clear*, but like a man who is at once clear-headed and *manifold*, —if we may be allowed the word—in his ideas, who can do more than apprehend one point clearly or many dimly—can apprehend, that is to say, many keenly. And this peculiarity has a good deal to do with the peculiarity of his style: it is obviously a natural one, and expresses the working of his own mind. He is never longer in stating a thing than he can possibly help, because his mind being always, as

it were, two or three steps ahead of his pen, he lays down the point in passing on his way to something else, and therefore does not apply himself more to it than is necessary in the way of business; what he is going to say, occupies him; what he is saying, he only says, and no more . . . His sermons, in fact, have both the advantages and disadvantages, whatever these may be, of being more like very copious and connected notes for discourses than discourses themselves. They have the terseness, freshness, and condensation of ideas first put together, together with their want of form and polish; though we gather from Andrewes' contemporaries, that the delivery made up considerably for this deficiency." And the critic notices especially two points: 1. Andrewes' method of *hammering* the same idea into his hearers again and again. "He is never tired of using the same word. The idea, ever thus renewed, and recreated, as it were, gains strength and power by the mere act of repetition, and each successive blow comes down with increased effect:"—And 2. the animation of his discourse. "Whatever faults he may have, he never sleeps—he is always on the move in one direction or another. Incessant aim and activity is the pervading characteristic of his sermons; his shortnesses, quaintnesses, his multiplied divisions; his texts wielded with such dexterity, and ever at hand—ever, as it were, on service—all keep

up the stirring and business-like character of the scene; all are at work fulfilling their various tasks and parts in the construction of the discourse, and occupying themselves like bees in their hive :—

"Et munire favos et dædala fingere tecta." *

Merely, however, as a preacher, as a master, in those early days, of the language and rhetoric of the pulpit, Andrewes would claim less interest than Donne; for in Donne there is not only the matter, but the not unsuccessful effort after form and art which Andrewes entirely neglected. But Andrewes was primarily a theologian; and his theology has permanently influenced the range and character of theological thought in the English Church.

Andrewes' theological opinions were formed about the same time, and under the same circumstances, as Hooker's. The two men had much in common, both in their strong recoil from the popular traditions and systems which, under Elizabeth, had more and more loudly claimed to interpret and represent exclusively the English Reformation; and also in the positive ground which each was disposed to take, as the true and authentic basis of the teaching of the English Church. Both, too, had in common that devotional temper, those keen and deep emotions of awe, reverence and delight, which arise when

* British Critic, Jan. 1842, pp. 193, 202.

the objects of theological thought and interest are adequately realised, according to their greatness, by the imagination and the heart. Hooker made the first, at any rate the most conspicuous, venture to cut across the grain of public prejudice. But Hooker, great as he was—and the Englishmen of Shakespeare and Bacon's age could not fail to recognise his greatness—was yet but an obscure country parson, who may be said to have failed in London, and who certainly was not much seen in the houses of the great. Andrewes not only followed for a quarter of a century after Hooker's death in the path which Hooker had opened, but Andrewes was the companion and trusted counsellor of the holders of power. He was one of the greatest and most considered men in England, rising to the high places, one after another, of the Church; in the opinion of some of the wisest observers, the only fit man for the highest.

In Andrewes, as in Hooker, we come on a wide divergence from the language of the early theologians of Elizabeth, and from the way in which they presented the relative importance and proportion of different parts of the doctrinal system of the Church. Before it is said that this was a departure from the spirit of the Reformation, it ought to be brought to mind what the Reformation was. It was not a thing in all its parts done, finished, completed for good. Part of it was final—the independence of the

National Church, the repudiation of superstition and corruption; part could not be accomplished at once. It started as a progressive and tentative effort to mend things which had been long and deeply injured, to put straight things which the custom of centuries and the ignorance of the day had turned awry; but it looked on this as a gradual process, which it was too much to hope to see done at a stroke, and which was to exercise the wisdom and patience of years to come. It cannot be sufficiently remembered that in James I.'s time, and in Charles II.'s time in 1662, the Reformation was still going on as truly as it was in the days of Edward VI. and Elizabeth. The English Reformation was, theologically speaking, one of the most adventurous and audacious—bravely audacious—of enterprises. Its object was to revolutionise the practical system of the English Church without breaking with history and the past; to give the Crown and the State vast and new powers of correction and control, without trenching on the inherited prerogatives of the spiritualty; and to do this without the advantage of a clear, solid, well-tested, consistent theory, or else, as in Luther's case, of a strong exaggerated cry and watchword. Smarting under the sting of monstrous practical abuses, and quite conscious of the impossibility of making sudden changes to be deep ones, the English reformers adopted what their enemies might well call a hand-to-mouth policy of experi-

ment in finding what they still hoped might be a growing, improving, yet permanent settlement. The Roman theory of the Church, and of Church reform as pursued at Trent, was compact and complete; the Calvinist theory of Church reform and Church reconstruction was equally logical and complete; in each case all was linked together, consistent, impregnable, till you came to the final question of the authority on which all rested, and till you came to square the theory with certain and important facts. With a kind of gallant contempt for the protection of a theory, we in England shaped our measures as well as we could, to suit the emergencies which at the moment most compelled the attention of the steersman at the helm. The English Reformation ventured on its tremendous undertaking, the attempt to make the Church theologically, politically, socially different, while keeping it historically and essentially the same — with what seems the most slender outfit of appliances. Principles it had; but they were very partially explored, applied, followed out to consequences, harmonised, limited. It sprung from an idea, a great and solid one, even though dimly comprehended, but not from a theory or a system, such as that unfolded in Calvin's Institutes. Its public and avowed purpose—I do not say that of all its promoters—but its public purpose was, taking the actual historical Church of Augustine and Ethelbert, of Becket and Wolsey, of Warham and Pole, the

existing historical representative and descendant of that supernatural Society which is traceable through all the ages to Apostolic days, to assert its rights, to release it from usurpation, to purge away the evils which this usurpation had created and fostered; and accepting the Bible as the primitive Church had accepted it, and trying to test everything by Scripture and history, to meet the immediate necessities of a crisis which called not only for abolition, but for reconstruction and replacement. What was done bore the marks of a clear and definite purpose; but it also bore the unmistakable marks of haste and pressure, as well as violence. Laws,—all but the most indispensable ones,—canons, synods, tribunals, the adjustment of the differing elements of its constitution, were adjourned to a more convenient season, which, in fact, has never arrived. It began with arrangements avowedly provisional. On the great dogmatic controversies of the moment it defined cautiously, its critics said, imperfectly: it hardly had made up its own mind. For the systematic confessions of the Continent, it provided a makeshift in the Thirty-nine Articles, put to a use for which they were not originally designed. But it did four things:—1. It maintained the Episcopate and the Ordinal: 2. It put the English Bible into the hands of the people: 3. It gave them the English Book of Common Prayer; and 4. To bind all together with the necessary bond of authority, it

substituted boldly and confidently, in place of the rejected authority of the Pope, the authority, equally undefined, of the Crown, presumed to be loyally Christian and profoundly religious, and always acting in concert with the Church and its representatives. It has been called a *Via Media*, a compromise. It is more true to fact to say that what was in the thought of those who guided it under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth was an attempt, genuine though rude and rough and not always successful, to look all round the subject; to embrace in one compass as many advantages as they could—perhaps incompatible and inconsistent ones—without much regard to producible and harmonising theories: antiquity and novelty, control and freedom, ecclesiastical and civil authority, the staid order of a Church as old as the nation and the vigour of a modern revolution of the age of the Renaissance, a very strong public government with an equally strong private fervour and enthusiasm; to stimulate conscience and the sense of individual responsibility, and yet to keep them from bursting all bounds; to overthrow a vast ancient power, strong in its very abuses and intrenched behind the prejudices as well as the great deeds of centuries, and yet to save the sensitive, delicate instincts of loyalty, reverence, and obedience; to make room in the same system of teaching for the venerable language of ancient Fathers, and also for the new learning of famous modern authorities.

The task was a difficult one, as it was unique among the various projects opposed to it, or likened to it, going on at the same time in Western Christendom. Abroad, the idea of the English Reformation appeared, as it still appears abroad, an illogical and incomprehensible attempt to unite incompatible principles and elements. That government should interfere with religion, should change it, should impose it, was perfectly understood both by Protestants and Catholics. But that reformers in England, having broken with the Pope, should not make a clear sweep of the whole of the inherited system and begin afresh; that they should embarrass themselves by maintaining the continuity and identity of the existing Church with the historical Church of the past; that they should be so bold, yet so guarded and reticent,—this was unintelligible, both at Rome, Paris and Madrid, and at Wittenberg, Jena, Basle and Geneva. It must have seemed to many,—not merely to the worshippers of absolute hypotheses, but to cool and practical judges of the probabilities of human affairs—a very unpromising, if not forlorn and desperate venture. So daring a disregard of obvious inconsequence and anomaly; so delicate a balancing of conflicting tendencies; so apparently artificial and arbitrary restraints on their natural development; all, too, depending on the chances of a single life, and the personal influence of a character, did not wear the look of permanence. It might have

been plausibly foretold that the English reformed Church must soon choose its side; must soon either go backwards or forwards; backwards to its old allegiance; forwards to the clear, definite position of the great Swiss and French reformers. But that it should go on strengthening itself in spite of its double openness to attack, unfolding and developing the energies of life in spite of its logical incompleteness; that it should long escape the dangers from internal quarrels and outward hostility, might well have seemed one of the most unlikely of suppositions. The hopes and forecasts of the prophets of evil may be seen in the controversial literature of the Roman advocates, in the pamphlet literature of the Puritan champions of the "Discipline."

The experience of three centuries has shown that the apparently loose, ill-jointed, halting polity which they so contemptuously criticised, had both a firmness and an elasticity which more showy systems failed in. It has borne the brunt of time and change. It has never lost its original informing, animating idea. It has shown a wonderful power of obstinate tenacity against jars and shocks, a force of continuous growth, and of vigorous recovery after disaster and stagnation. It has certainly vindicated its claim to life and reality. But at starting, the dangers were indeed formidable. In the first place, the principle of authority had been most rudely shaken; yet it was necessary to invoke it at every turn. It is not easy for us to

realise the effect of the shattering, in an ignorant, yet eager and excited age, of the religious authority of the Pope. It seemed to leave a void in the public control of belief and conscience which every one might fill as he pleased. Yet the world had been accustomed to authority, and the void could not be left unoccupied. The Crown, its ministers and its council; the Bishops, its trusted advisers; in those days in a less prominent, but still important degree, the Parliament and the Synod, slipped into the vacant place. But though authority maintained itself, it did not maintain itself easily. The subtle, intangible, yet deep and mighty force of moral authority which had existed of old, and which the Popes had strained till it broke, had not been, could not be, replaced. As a substitute for it, came in an exaggerated idea of the divine and personal rights of the Crown. It was partly a very real and natural idea at the time; it was partly a factitious and scholastic one; it partly expressed, vaguely and imperfectly, the claims of public law. But it served to consecrate the force which was judged necessary to maintain what had been settled as the order of the Church; and the temptation to appeal to it, whenever its countenance could be hoped for, became on all hands, irresistible, where, as it seemed, time and patience and argument, and the growth of reasonable and sober opinion, could not be waited for or relied upon. The result was the unquestionable harshness

of the Tudor and Stuart ecclesiastical government, and the ever-renewed exasperation and bitterness of its unruly subjects, whom we see to have been self-willed and unreasonable, but who then thought, not unnaturally, that its authority had no claim to their respect nor binding force on their consciences.

And with this impaired sense of authority at home the English Reformation had to confront the mightiest, the most imperious and exacting authority outside, which ever claimed and bore a universal sway over human conscience. It had to confront the Roman authority, now turned into the most implacable and aggressive of deadly enemies; and this, not simply on the ground of argument and influence, but in the field of political action. The struggle between England and Rome under Elizabeth, and in the first years of James, was a struggle of life and death. It was a struggle, begun in its desperate and murderous fierceness by the Popes, in which no scruples were felt, no terms kept on either side. Controversy, never silent, and always truculent and unsparing, was but a light matter compared with the terrible hostilities carried on, not by word, but by deed; war and conspiracy and massacre, the fanaticism of assassination and treason, met by sanguinary legislation, by cold and determined "execution of justice." We may well be aghast at the horrors of that struggle. The deep hatreds and deep injuries of the political conflict gave to the

theological controversy—the necessary theological controversy—an unfairness and a virulence from which it has never recovered, and which have been a disgrace to Christendom, and fatal, not merely to unity, but in many ways to truth. But there was something more on the Roman side than the cruel intrigues of Popes and Jesuits and the brutality of pamphleteers. Since the age of Julius II. and Leo X., and the first sittings of the Council of Trent, Roman controversy had become intellectually much more formidable. The stress of the Reformation had forced it to look narrowly into its own case and its grounds. Against the learning of Erasmus and the genius and thought of Calvin, it felt the necessity of something more than the stock arguments and quotations of its earlier defenders, Eck and Caietan. And the result was remarkable. The order of the Jesuits arose to place, not merely enthusiasm and political unscrupulousness at the service of the Pope, but learning, the spirit of research, intellectual activity and literary skill. Vast scientific systems of theology, like the great work of Suarez, unfolded and established with philosophic calmness and strength the Roman doctrine. To match such works as these there was nothing—I do not say in England, but even in Germany and Switzerland. There was nothing to match the subtlety and comprehensiveness of the "Controversies" of Bellarmine. There was nothing to match the imposing historical picture presented

in the annals of Baronius. Rome had much more to say for itself than had appeared to Cranmer or even to Jewell.

There was a third danger. The foreign Reformation, in its most vigorous and intellectual representatives, undoubtedly the French and Swiss reformers, started with an imposing breadth and simplicity of principle, absolute and sweeping, to which the English laid no claim. Calvin and Zwingli, both in what they destroyed and what they built up, had no occasion for the qualifications, the hesitations, the revisions and amendments and corrections, which abound in the course pursued in England. But, as is according to the nature of Englishmen, many Englishmen who were brought into close contact with the keen and powerful minds who swayed the Reformation abroad, were deeply impressed and attracted by them. Through them the opinions of the foreigners, recommended by their extreme and uncompromising logic, found a footing in England. Geneva and Zurich became rival centres of influence to Rome; and a school was founded, strong from the first, and always, either in the government or in opposition to it, energetic and determined, whose object was to carry change in the English Church, both in doctrine, usages, and discipline, to a point where all likeness was lost, not only to the unreformed but to the ancient Church. It became their steady, persevering policy to impose the Calvinistic

theology in its severest form as regards the Divine decrees as well as the doctrines of grace, both as an authoritative and as a popular system of teaching, on the documents and on the organs of the English Church; and to disparage and intimidate with the note of disloyalty and treason any departure from the definitions and phraseology of the great foreign divines, who in those days were supposed to be in exclusive and certain possession of the interpretation of revealed truth. Calvinism, transplanted into the serious and earnest nature of Englishmen and Scotchmen, flourished with a vigour of life which it rapidly lost in its native seats. How nearly it succeeded in making itself master in the English Church is seen in the history and language of Hooker's books, and in Whitgift's 'Lambeth Articles' of 1595. And with the imperious and exclusive demand of the Calvinistic theology had also come other claims. That early fraternisation with the foreign reformers in the first stage of our own Reformation, natural, inevitable, excusable as under the difficulties of the time it may have been,—that wholesale acceptance of their authority, and that deference to the judgment of their disciples, which gave even to John Knox a part in the theological language of Edward's second Prayer-Book,* furnished a ground for claiming that

* See Dr. Lorimer's 'John Knox and the Church of England,' chap. iii.

the English Reformed Church should go on to full conformity with the ecclesiastical doctrines of the great foreign masters. The only safeguard for their theology was the full acceptance of their Church "platform:" the one was as much of Divine authority as the other. We have no right to wonder that this party aimed high. They aimed at nothing less than what they afterwards carried—not a mere change in this or that point, but a substitution of an entirely new polity and constitution for the existing one,—of an entirely new idea of the Church for that on which the Reformation in England had been based. Toleration was then on all sides not merely unacknowledged but condemned. The demand of the Puritan was that nothing should be allowed but Puritanism.

Through these trials the English Reformation had to make its way. In Bishop Andrewes, as in Hooker, we see the pass to which things had come;—the pressure of the hostile forces; the vulnerable points on which they bore heavily; the awakening in the Church of wider knowledge, of freedom and independence of thought, of calmer and steadier judgment; and the effort of reviving intellectual power, after the haste and hurried confusion of the early practical struggles for reformation, not, indeed, to construct a theory for it, but to put what it had done, and what it aimed at doing, on a reasonable and tenable ground. The later years of Elizabeth,

which, in spite of their troubles, were settled and quiet compared with the beginning of the century, cleared up much that had been confused and uncertain. The larger and richer and more powerful minds had time to think, to learn, to balance, to weigh and analyse arguments, to follow out consequences. The English Church, at its Reformation, had taken up its ground on the Scriptures and the Primitive Church. It had avowed its object to be a return, as far as was possible, to what the teaching of the Apostles and their disciples had made the Primitive Church to be. At the outset, all that was much insisted upon was that the Primitive Church was certainly *not* like the modern unreformed Latin Church. By the end of Elizabeth's reign, men had found leisure to inquire carefully and honestly, with less prejudice and heat, what that model *was* like, which the English Church had declared its wish to copy in all things essential. Arms were still needed, as much as ever, against the never-ceasing hostility of Rome: but something more was clearly necessary than the mere negations of earlier controversy and invectives against Roman corruption and pretensions; some more positive ground on which to rest the claim that England was better and more primitive than Rome. Such a ground it was not easy to find in that narrow Calvinism which the Puritans were trying to force on the Government, and to make the popular religion of the country. Some-

thing was wanted broader, more intelligible, and more refined than their mode of presenting the ideas of justification and God's predestinating and electing grace, and their fashion of summing up loyalty to Christ and truth in petty scruples about innocent and natural usages and ceremonies. Something was wanted, as fervent, but more true, more noble, more Catholic, than their devotion and self-discipline. The higher spirits of the time wanted to breathe more freely, and in a purer air. They found what they wanted in the language, the ideas, the tone and temper of the best early Christian literature. That turned their thoughts from words to a Person. It raised them from the disputes of local cliques to the ideas which have made the Universal Church. It recalled them from arguments that revolved round a certain number of traditional formulæ about justification, free-will, and faith, to a truer and worthier idea both of man and God, to the overwhelming revelation of the Word Incarnate, and the result of it on the moral standard and behaviour of real and living men. It led them from a theology which ended in cross-grained and perverse conscientiousness, to a theology which ended in adoration, self-surrender, and blessing, and in the awe and joy of welcoming the Presence of the Eternal Beauty, the Eternal Sanctity, and the Eternal Love, the Sacrifice and Reconciliation of the World.

Andrewes, by nature and choice, an indefatigable

student, a ready and accomplished teacher, a devout and self-disciplined seeker after a life with God, was only by necessity a polemic. There was abundance in the world of his time to disquiet and offend him;—to offend his large knowledge, his idea of religion, his convictions of the sacredness of morality, his balanced reason; to disquiet him, as to the result of the mischievous elements working round English religion. But only in one direction did he throw himself avowedly into controversy. He threw himself into it as an Englishman, as a servant of his country and King, as well as a Churchman. The great Roman rally, which dated from the institution of the Company of Jesus, and which had been growing in strength and uncompromising aggression through the sixteenth century, had given a pressing and menacing importance to the Roman controversy in England. For the Roman claims called in question not simply the foundations of the English Church, but the foundations of the English State and society. The prominence given to the revived doctrine of the deposing power had received meaning not only from what had been attempted in England, but by what had been accomplished, avowed, celebrated in France. We sometimes speak as if the crimes of the Roman party culminated in the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the cruelties of Alva. But besides that these, unhappily, had a terrible balance on the other side, they were not the worst. It is in

the French wars of the League, in the principles invented by their ecclesiastical leaders, proclaimed in the pulpits of Paris, spread abroad by a thousand emissaries, put in practice by the assassins of Henry III. and Henry IV., that we see the real character of theories put forth by great and popular champions of Rome, and their fatal bearing on the primary conditions of human society. The murder of Henry IV. drove the calm and impartial Casaubon to say, "that he thought it now part of his religion to make public profession of his belief in the Royal Supremacy." The sense of these dangers, indignation at the atrocious wickedness and profanations which marked the policy now so highly in favour at Rome, the wrath of a man of learning at the gross abuse of learning for the support of sophistry, which in the cause of reckless ambition ended in perjury and murder, forced Andrewes reluctantly, but very resolutely, into this barren and dreary field. James claimed the aid of his learning and keen wit against the foremost leaders of the Roman claims, Bellarmine and Duperron. The gossips of the Court record that controversy was neither to his liking nor according to his supposed aptitudes; but they also record with what power he accomplished his task.* He met his opponents on ground new to them. He met them as a man at least as deeply learned in ecclesiastical

* Vide Note in Bliss' ed. of Andrewes, vii., pp. ix., x.

history and literature as themselves. One of the triumphant devices of the later Roman argument had been to take the English Church at her word, as a Church which avowedly aimed at making the ancient Church her standard, and to contrast this with the dogmas and the "platform" too hastily adopted from Geneva by some of her divines in the reaction against the intolerable abuses of the days of Leo X. Andrewes gave a new turn to the controversy. He was not afraid of what was genuine early language and early usage. When Cardinal Duperron drew a detailed comparison between the Church of St. Augustine and of the four first Councils, and the Churches of his day, Roman and Reformed, and asked which of the latter bore the greater resemblance to the earlier type, Andrewes fearlessly met the challenge, on behalf of the Church of England. The challenge was, indeed, a fallacious one, from the vast changes which had passed over the world, and from the enormous differences between the 5th and the 17th centuries, which one side as much as the other had to take account of. Yet there were times, doubtless, in the history of the Reformation when it would have been hazardous to have met such a challenge before those acquainted with history. But Andrewes wrote with the advantage which enlarged knowledge and experience had thrown on the aims and language of both sides in the struggle; and he did not shrink from claiming

for his Church as large and essential a conformity with antiquity, even in outward things, as could be pretended by Rome, and a far deeper agreement in spirit.

With the Puritans he did not enter so much into direct controversy as Hooker had done. With the exception of some partial and incidental disputes with individuals—such as his correspondence with Du Moulin,—or a passing touch of rebuke, protest, or humorous satire in his preaching, his resistance to Puritanism was an indirect one. He looked for producing his effect on the tone and course of religious thought in England, not by arguing, but by presenting uncontroversially the reasonableness and the attractions of a larger, freer, nobler, more generous, may I say, more imaginative, system of teaching. His administrative weight as a Bishop was, of course, thrown on the side which resisted the tyrannous narrowness of Puritanism, and aimed at greater expansiveness and proportion in doctrine, and dignity and solemnity in worship. But he did not trust to administration and power as Laud did. The weapon by which he attacked Puritanism, the instrument by which he endeavoured to enlarge the sympathies and refine the religious ideas of his day, was his sermons. In those sermons—belonging as they do in style and manner to their time—there is a clear and strong contrast with the way in which Christianity had usually been presented

in the preaching of the previous generation. This preaching professed to represent the original creed of Calvinism—stern, hard, positive, but thoroughly earnest and very mighty—and with a gloomy and savage grandeur and nobility, in its passionate loyal assertions of the irresistible Sovereignty of God, against the claims, the worthlessness, and the insignificance of man. But this stern creed, for a short moment a living one, had, as was sure to be the case, degenerated into a dry, unreal, stereotyped scholasticism, to which the mediæval scholasticism was fruitful and interesting. In Andrewes you feel as if he had broken bounds. You see at once a wider horizon, objects of faith and contemplation at once more real, more personal, more august; you become aware of your relation to a vaster and more diversified world, a world full of mystery, yet touching you on every side. Doctrine you have, dogmatic teaching as precise and emphatic as anywhere: but it is doctrine as wide as the Scripture in its comprehensiveness and variety, reflecting at every turn the unutterable and overwhelming wonders which rise before us when we think of what we mean by the Creeds; corresponding in its dignity, in its versatile application, to the real history of man, to the deep and manifold wants of the soul, its aspirations, its terrible sins, its cruel fears, its capacities for hope and delight, the strange fortunes of the race, and of the story of each individual life. He is

not a mere moralist, not simply a preacher of high duties and elevated views of human nature and prospects.* He is, first and foremost, a theologian, whose deepest belief is the importance of his theology, and who profoundly reverences its truth. But his theology is very different from that so long in vogue. It approached man on his many sides. It was instinct with the awful consciousness of our immense and hopeless ignorance of the ways and counsels of God—with that shrinking from speculation on the secret things of the Most High which he shared with Hooker, and which as a professed law of divinity was something new in the theological world of the day. "For these sixteen years, since I was ordained priest," he says, in his judgment on the 'Lambeth

* "Since the Revolution of 1688 our Church has been chilled and starved too generally by preachers and reasoners, Stoic or Epicurean: first, a sort of pagan morality was substituted for righteousness by faith; and latterly prudence, or Paleyanism, has been substituted even for morality. A Christian preacher ought to preach Christ alone, and all things in Him and by Him. If he find a dearth in this, if it seem to him a circumscription, he does not know Christ as the *pleroma*, the fulness. It is not possible that there should be aught true, or seemly, or beautiful, in thought, will, or deed, speculative or practical, which may not, and which ought not, to be evolved out of Christ and the faith in Christ; no folly, no error, no evil to be exposed, or warned against, which may not, and should not, be convicted and denounced for its contrariancy and enmity to Christ. To the Christian preacher, Christ should be in all things, and all things in Christ: he should abjure every argument which is not a link in the chain, of which Christ is the staple and staple-ring." (Coleridge, 'Notes on English Divines: Donne,' i. 86.)

Articles,' "I have never publicly or privately disputed or preached on these mysteries of predestination"—on which every one else was disputing; "and now I would much rather hear than speak of them."* His aim was to give accuracy and breadth to dogma, and to put life in its expression, as St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, and the great Greek Fathers had done: not to plunge into the abysses of the unknown, and of that which it is impossible to know, but to fix thought on the certainties and realities, passing all wonder, that we believe *are* known, and to accompany their contemplation with that encompassing train of Christian affections and graces, without which they have been revealed in vain—faith, and reverence, and high hope, and the desire after holiness, and humble patience, and the joy of God's love. The power of Puritanism was now no longer in its scheme of doctrine, but in its fierce Judaical hatreds, which, natural at one time against intolerable superstitions, had passed into a superstition as intolerable and mischievous. How best to fight against the blind powers of ignorance and prejudice, when they have been unloosened, and aspire to govern churches and direct religion, is always an anxious question. Andrewes conceived that the most hopeful way was to spend his life and gifts in presenting continually in the pulpit the counter-attraction of a purer and nobler pattern of faith: a

* Andrewes, 'Minor Works,' 294.

religion with vaster prospects and wider sympathies; which claimed kindred with all that was ancient, and all that was universal in Christianity; which looked above the controversies and misunderstandings of the hour, to the larger thought, and livelier faith, and sanctified genius of those in whom the Church of Christ has recognised her most venerated teachers.

His efforts failed at the time. Probably they would have failed equally, in spite of Clarendon's opinion the other way, if he had been called to succeed Abbot at Canterbury.* That unqualified idea of Royal power, the ruin of Spain and France, in which Churchmen of that day put their trust, and to which their opponents would equally have trusted if they could have got it on their side, was a doomed one in England, and must have brought defeat for the time on all who had identified themselves with it. Puritanism failing, first under Elizabeth and then under James, to get hold of the government, as it once hoped to do, had thrown itself into the struggle for English liberty, and for the moment it was to reap the reward of its courage. And it must, I fear, be added that Andrewes or any one else would have been greatly hampered by the badness of his own party. There were sycophants and corrupt trucklers to power among the bishops: there was ignorance and there was sordid greed among the clergy. "Quis

* Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, i. 157.

custodiet ipsos custodes?" he asks, in his stern and menacing Latin Sermon at St. Paul's, before the Convocation of 1593. The rulers of the Church did not come with clean hands to repress the extravagances of Puritan prophecyings and consistories, and the insolence of Puritan pamphleteers. What Andrewes did was less for his own generation than for those that came after. In the course of a long and active life, he broke the yoke of prejudice, and unloosed the tongue of English theologians. Without departing from the position or the lines of the original Reformation, he greatly enlarged its field of teaching. In the outskirts and fringes of its system, where it had been characteristically reticent, he was not afraid to supply from the authorities, to which it had all along appealed, what was wanting to complete the harmony and fulness of its doctrine. Thus with respect to the idea of the Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist, on which the language of the ancient Church was so clear and strong, and on which, from the superstitions and errors of the Mediæval Church, the English Prayer Book was so reserved, Andrewes, without hesitation and as of full right, recurred, both in controversy and in teaching, to the language of the Liturgies, familiar to the early writers from Irenæus to Augustine. So again, in respect of those forms and offices for special occasions not provided for in the general office-book of the Church, he threw himself, as an ancient Bishop would have done, on

his inherent episcopal authority to supply the want. It is mainly according to the model used by him that our churches are even to this day consecrated. Full of discrimination for what really had the authority of the ancient Church, he was the most fearless of English divines, when he had that authority. English theology would be in danger of being much less Catholic, much more disconnected with that of the earlier ages, much more arbitrarily limited in all directions, except towards Geneva or else towards simple latitude, but that a man of Andrewes' character and weight had dared to break through the prescription which the Puritans were trying to establish against the doctrinal language, at once more accurate and more free, of the ancient Church. Without him and his school, we might perhaps have had Hales of Eton, and Chillingworth and Tillotson, great and weighty names; and on the other hand, John Newton and Toplady and Thomas Scott; but we could not have had Jeremy Taylor and Bull, and hardly Waterland.

But Bishop Andrewes has left behind him something which, even more than his preaching, explains his influence; it is the evidence of that power of character which has so strong, though so indirect and subtle a hold on men. He is one of those who like St. Augustine have left us, besides their writings, their very secret selves, as they placed themselves in the presence of their God and Saviour. In Bishop

Andrewes' case this was certainly without intending it. After his death was found the book in which he had consigned the words selected by him to express the usual attitude of his soul in private, his usual feelings and emotions, his usual desires, when upon his knees. The book has been long familiar as Bishop Andrewes' 'Greek and Latin Devotions.' It has received in our own times one of those rare translations which make an old book new.* It seems to me that the key to the influence which Andrewes had in his own day, and which recommended his theology, is to be found in his 'Devotions.' For they show what was the true meaning and reach of his theology, how unspeakably real and deep he felt its language to be, and how naturally it allied itself and was interwoven with the highest frames of thought and feeling in a mind of wide range, and a soul of the keenest self-knowledge and the strongest sympathies. There are books which go deeper into the struggles, the questionings, the temptations, the discipline, the strange spiritual mysteries of the devout spirit. There are books which perhaps rise higher in the elevations of devotion. But nowhere do we see more so original and spontaneous a result of a man's habits of devotion; nowhere, that I know of, does the whole mind of the student, the divine, and the preacher, reflect itself in his prayers so simply and easily and harmoniously

* By Dr. Newman, in 1840.

as in this book. His knowledge, his tastes, his systematic and methodical theology, the order and articles of his creed, translate themselves into the realities of worship. All his interests, all his customary views of God, of man, of nature, of his relations to his place and time—all that he has been reading about or employed upon, suggest themselves when he places himself in God's presence, and find their natural and fit expression in the beautifully applied words of Psalm or ancient Liturgy. Nothing can be more comprehensive and more complete in their proportions than his devotions for each day; nothing more tender and solemn; nothing more compressed and nervous than their language. The full order of prayer and all its parts is always there: the introductory contemplation, to sober, to elevate, to kindle; the confession, the profession of faith, the intercession, the praise and thanksgiving. There is equally there the consciousness of individual singleness, and the sense of great and wide corporate relations. His confessions show in severely restrained and precise language the infinite acknowledgment of unworthiness and want, and the infinite hope in God's mercy and love, in one who searched and judged himself with keen and unflinching truth. But he did not stop at himself, his sins and hopes. He also felt himself, even in private prayer, one of the great body of God's creation and God's Church. He reminded himself of it, as he did of the Object of his worship, in the profes-

sion of his faith. He acted on it in his detailed and minute intercessions. And then he surrendered himself to the impulses of exulting wonder and rejoicing at the greatness of his Christian lot. The poetical and imaginative side of his nature shows itself in the vivid pictures which he calls up, with a few condensed and powerful touches, of the glories of Nature, and the wonders of God's kingdom, its history, its manifold organisation. Thus, "the connection of every day," says a writer before quoted, Dr. Mozley,* "with the great works which each day saw in the work of creation, converts the several days of the week into beautiful mementos of the fact that we and all that we see are God's creatures, as well as of the sanctity of the week itself as a division of time; and it evidences that character of mind in the writer which realises the facts of Scripture, sees mysteries in common things, and feels itself still living amid visible traces of a Divine dispensation. It is obvious how such a method gives the beauty of natural objects a place in his religion." The Apostles' Creed is no dry recital, but expands day after day into petitions and desires founded on its awful facts. And so again, "man, human society, his country, as an object of prayer, is not the mere human mass—a number of individuals, but man and man in certain relations to each other, high and low, rich and poor, king and

* British Critic, Jan. 1845, pp. 189–192.

subject, noble and dependent, all living together in the system of God's ordinance," .... "actual trades and states of life," definitely enumerated, as Homer enumerates names of men and places; not only "king and queen, parliament and judicature, army and police, commons and their leaders," but "farmers, graziers, fishers, merchants, traders, and mechanics, down to mean workmen and the poor." There is no class of men, no condition, no relation of life, no necessity or emergency of it, which does not at one time or another rise up before his memory, and claim his intercession: none for which he does not see a place in the order of God's world, and find a refuge under the shadow of His wing.

Into such devotions I think it would be impossible to translate the Puritan theology of the time. It is too narrow, too suspicious, too much enslaved to technical forms and language. The piercing and rapid energy of Andrewes' devotions, their ordinary severe conciseness, their nobleness and manliness, their felicitous adaptations, their free and varied range, the way in which they call up before the mind the whole of the living realities of God's creation and God's revelations, and, in the portion devoted to praise, their rhythmical flow and music, incorporating bursts of adoration and Eucharistic triumph for the Liturgies of St. James or St. Chrysostom, recalling the most ancient Greek hymns of the Church, the "Gloria in Excelsis" and the Evening Hymn, preserved at the end of the

Alexandrian manuscript of the New Testament,*—all this is in the strongest contrast to anything that I know of in the private devotions of the time. It was the reflection, in private prayer, of the tone and language of the public Book of Common Prayer, its Psalms, and its Offices: it supplemented the public book, and carried on its spirit from the Church to the closet. And this was the counterpart of what Andrewes taught in the pulpit. To us it shows how real and deeply held his theology was; and it also explains that persuasiveness of conviction, which has as much to do as intellectual force and breadth, in making men listen to their teachers and accept their words. The reformed English Church had had its martyrs, statesmen, doctors, champions; in Andrewes it had a saint—not called so, not canonised, but one in whom men felt the irresistible charm of real holiness. It had some one in high place not only to admire, but to love. And churches need saints, as much as theologians and statesmen, and even martyrs.

In these ways, Andrewes marks a period and a step in the unfolding of the theology of the Reformed Church of England and in the practical course of the Reformation. Hooker had vindicated on its behalf the rights of Christian and religious *reason*, that reason which is a reflection of the mind of God.

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* Φῶς ἱλαρόν; translated in the 'Lyra Apostolica,' No. 62. See Bingham, vol. iv. p. 411.

Andrewes vindicated on its behalf the rights of Christian *history*. Hooker had maintained the claims of reason, against a slavish bondage to narrow and arbitrary interpretations of the letter of Scripture. Andrewes claimed for the English Church its full interest and membership in the Church universal, from which Puritan and Romanist alike would cut off the island Church by a gulf as deep as the sea. The spirit of historical investigation had awoke in England as in the rest of Europe, against the passion for abstract and metaphysical argument which had marked and governed the earlier stages of the Reformation. It had converted Causaubon from Calvinism, and at the same time made him the most formidable critic of the magnificent, but unhistorical picture presented in the annals of Baronius. Widened knowledge had done as much for Andrewes and the men of his school, Field and Donne and Overall, may I not add, in this matter, Andrewes' close friend, Lord Bacon? History had enlarged their ideas of the Church universal. Its facts and concrete lessons and actual words had overborne the traditions and general assumptions in which the necessities of an age of religious war had educated them. They opened their eyes and saw that the prerogatives which the Puritans confined to an invisible Church, and which Rome confined to the obedience of the Pope, belonged to the universal historical Church, lasting on with varied fortunes

through all the centuries from the days of Pentecost; on earth "the habitation of God through the spirit." Maintaining jealously and stoutly the inherent and indefeasible rights of the national Church of England, and resisting with uncompromising determination the tyranny which absorbed in a single hand the powers of the Catholic Church, they refused to forget, even in England, what God's Spirit had done in other portions of Christendom, perhaps far removed, perhaps for the time bitterly hostile. They learned to pray, as Andrewes did, "for the Catholic Church, its establishment and increase; for the Eastern, its deliverance and union; for the Western, its adjustment and peace; for the British, the supply of what is wanting in it, the strengthening of that which remains in it." They recognised the authority of its great and unquestionable decisions. They were willing to appeal to its authority, if it could be expressed legitimately. They introduced, even into controversy, at least to some extent, the habits of discrimination and respect. Their teaching shows how, after the first fever and excitement of the revolt against Roman usurpation had passed, the leaders of the English Church felt that much natural mistatement and exaggeration had to be qualified and corrected; it shows how anxious they were, in accordance with the declared policy of the Reformation, to keep hold on the undivided and less corrupted Church of the early centuries as their standard and guide: it

shows how much they found in their increased acquaintance with it, to enrich, to enlarge, to invigorate, to give beauty, proportion and force to their theology.

Still, as I said before, in this unique example of Church polity, unique in its constitution, unique in its strong permanence and its fruitfulness, they hardly attempted a complete, consistent, systematic theory. There was none agreed upon. There was none put forward, as in the vast elaborate systems in fashion on the Continent, where, in folio after folio, everything is rigorously deduced from its principles, and everything is in order and in its place. To the views and positions of Andrewes and his school, broadly stated, there were obvious objections which they did not care to probe, and to which an answer might not have been easy. And their appeal to the idea of Church authority grew into shape, and the ecclesiastical administration based on it was carried on and enforced, under the shield of James I.'s interpretation of the Royal Supremacy, which meant a right to meddle with everything, and settle everything by his personal wisdom. But I suppose the truth was, though they felt it only in a partial way and without putting it into words, that they saw that though the English Church, according to the current theories, was an anomaly, it was only an anomaly among anomalies,—amid universal anomaly. The sins, the crimes, the misrule of cen-

turies had brought their inevitable, their irremediable consequences, and made claims and rules inapplicable and impossible which belonged to times when these evils were yet in the future. It was a saying of a wise observer,* that "whoever enters on the study of Church history must be prepared for many surprises." And certainly the course of Church history has not run, either for good or for evil, in the course which theories would have prescribed to it. Stern and terrible facts stand up in it, not to be disguised by the most pretentious of theories. And, happily on the other hand, mischiefs which seemed inevitable have found unthought-of compensations or remedies. I doubt whether Andrewes cared much for that intellectual completeness of theory which we make much of. He knew that Rome in his day was unprimitive, tyrannical, aggressive, unscrupulous: he knew that Puritanism was narrow, uncatholic, cruelly intolerant; and he would not be cheated out of the facts which he saw, for want of a convenient theory. He fought both Romanist and Puritan with such weapons as he found in his hand. But his governing rule was a noble one—that expressed in the ancient saying, Σπάρταν ἔλαχες, ταύταν κόσμει, "Sparta is your portion, do your best for Sparta:"—noble, I say, because so honest, and so unpretending; for in

* Charles Marriott of Oriel.

religion, which means man's blindness and weakness as well as his hope, it does not do to be ambitious, or to claim great things for men or for systems. England might have faults, mistakes, shortcomings, inconsistencies; let him do his best to bear their discredit, or to mend their evils. But England and its Church had lived on before he was born, and would live on after he had done his part and passed away. The feeling with which he laboured in his work of life is, I conceive, expressed in the following passage from Archbishop Bramhall:*—

"No man can justly blame me for honouring my spiritual mother, the Church of England, in whose womb I was conceived, at whose breasts I was nourished, and in whose bosom I hope to die. Bees by the instinct of nature do love their hives, and birds their nests. But God is my witness that I, according to my uttermost talent and poor understanding, I have endeavoured to set down the naked truth impartially, without either favour or prejudice, the two capital enemies of right judgment. . . My desire hath been to have Truth for my chiefest friend, and no enemy but error. If I have had any bias, it hath been desire of peace, which our common Saviour hath left as a legacy to His Church, that I might live to see the reunion of Christendom, for which I

* Quoted in Newman's 'Prophetical Office of the Church,' p. vi.

shall always bow the knees of my heart to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . .

"Howsoever it be, I submit myself and my poor endeavours, first to the judgment of the Catholic Œcumenical essential Church, which, if some of late days have endeavoured to hiss out of the school, I cannot help it. From the beginning it was not so. And if I should mistake the right Catholic Church out of human frailty, or ignorance (which for my part, I have no reason in the world to suspect; yet it is not impossible, when the Romanists themselves are divided into five or six several opinions, what this Catholic Church, or what their Infallible Judge is), I do implicitly, and in the preparation of my mind, submit myself to the True Catholic Church, the Spouse of Christ, the Mother of the Saints, the Pillar of Truth. And seeing my adherence is firmer to the Infallible Rule of Faith, *i. e.* the Holy Scriptures interpreted by the Catholic Church, than to mine own private judgment and opinions; although I should unwittingly fall into an error, yet this cordial submission is an implicit retractation thereof, and I am confident will be so accepted by the Father of Mercies, both from me and from all others who seriously and sincerely do seek after peace and truth.

"Likewise I submit myself to the Representative Church, that is, to a free General Council, or so General as can be procured; and until then, to the

Church of England, wherein I was baptised, or to a National English Synod. To the determination of all which, and of each of them respectively, according to the distinct degree of their authority, I yield a *conformity* and *compliance*, or at the least, and to the lowest of them, an *acquiescence*."

For principles and convictions such as these, Andrewes, pre-eminently among our Divines, made a home in the Reformed Church of England. It was these principles and convictions which taught English Churchmen of the next generation, amid the direst ruin that ever fell on an institution, in exile abroad among mocking or pitying strangers, in utter overthrow at home, not to despair of the Church of England.

WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH.

Born A.D. 1602; Died A.D. 1644.

"The Bible the Religion of Protestants"—Its defects as a definition—Life of Chillingworth — The occasion and form of his book—His merits and defects—His effective answers (1) to Rome's boast of certainty; (2) to her claim of infallibility; (3) to that of being the sole authoritative interpreter of Scripture —The width of Chillingworth's tolerance — His book condemned by Puritans—His own inconsistencies and lapse into intolerance—The incompleteness of his method—His defects as a student of Scripture and Church History—Defended against Keble's charge of Arianism—His book more perilous than useful for minds drifting Romewards—The more excellent way.

The wide fame of William Chillingworth may be said, with scarcely an exaggeration, to rest almost, if not altogether, on a single paragraph. It is, as its popularity has proved, telling and effective enough. He had been challenged to say what he meant when he said that the religion of Protestants was a safe way of salvation, and he accepted the challenge and replied, near the close of his great argument:—"By the religion of Protestants I do not understand the doctrine of Luther, or Calvin, or Melanchthon; nor the confession of Augusta (Augsburg), or Geneva; nor the Catechism of Heidel-

berg, nor the Articles of the Church of England; no, nor the harmony of Protestant confessions; but that wherein they all agree, and which they all subscribe with a greater harmony as a perfect rule of their faith and actions, that is, the BIBLE. The Bible, I say, the *Bible* only, is the religion of Protestants. Whatsoever else they believe beside it, and the plain, irrefragable, indubitable consequences of it, well may they hold it as a matter of opinion; but, as matter of faith and religion, neither can they, with coherence to their own grounds, believe it of themselves, nor require the belief of it of others, without most high and schismatical presumption. I, for my part, after a long, and (as I verily believe and hope) impartial search of 'the true way to eternal happiness,' do profess plainly that I cannot find any rest for the sole of my foot but upon this rock only. I see plainly with mine own eyes that there are Popes against Popes, Councils against Councils, some Fathers against others, the same Fathers against themselves, a consent of Fathers of one age against a consent of Fathers of another age, the Church of one age against the Church of another. . . . In a word, there is no sufficient certainty but of Scripture only for any considering man to build upon. . . . Propose me anything out of this book, and require whether I believe it or no, and seem it never so incomprehensible to human reason, I will subscribe it with hand and heart, as knowing no

demonstration can be stronger than this—God hath said so, and therefore it is true."*

"The Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants." There is the sentence which has made Chillingworth more "ever-memorable" than his friend John Hales. Trumpeted on platforms, standing on title-pages as a motto, the cry of a party, the watchword of controversialists who, agreeing in nothing else, agreed in that; coming by the strange irony of history to be blazoned on the banners, not of the advocates of freedom and tolerance and unrestrained inquiry, but of the school that is most narrow and jealous and bitter in its relations to such freedom,—the sentence lives, and will continue, for good or evil, to live among us for many a long day as a word of power.

And yet there is, if I mistake not, something of a false ring in it. I reserve for the present the question how far it presents a satisfying ground of faith, or a true method for the attainment of religious truth. But, prior to that inquiry, it is obviously inaccurate in its pointed terseness. Religion, in any adequate sense of the word, includes faith and love, and character and conduct. It is a life, and not a book, however sacred the book may be. Other words, which tell us what to think of as "pure and undefiled religion,"† rise instinctively in our memories as a far

* 'Religion of Protestants,' I. vi. 56. † James i. 27.

better definition. What Chillingworth meant, as he explains in the immediate context, is that the Bible is a "perfect rule of faith and action," and that a true religion consists in following that rule. But the sentence, taken by itself, tends, in its clap-trap form, to an unreasoning Bibliolatry. Men have been led by it to think of the Bible as a book, and not as a library of many books. They have resented and resisted any inquiry into the claims of each separate book, or any part of any book, to a place in that library. They have clothed every part of every book with an equally infallible authority, and have refused to admit the thought of graduated and varied teaching. "God has said so, and therefore it is true," has been their answer to critics and historians and men of science who pressed conclusions that seemed adverse to the claims thus set up. I do not say that Chillingworth foresaw these results. I believe that the largeness of heart and the restless spirit of discussion which placed him in advance of his age in the seventeenth century would have kept him in advance still, had he lived in the nineteenth; but it is clear that he is answerable for having supplied those who wanted a "cry" with which to attack others whose thoughts were wider than their own, with one so convenient for their purpose. The "masters of those who know," men like Hooker and Butler, would never have committed themselves to so perilous an epigram.

One passage in the paragraph just quoted leads us to ask more as to the writer's life, and what we learn, beyond all question, deepens our interest in him. He speaks of his "long and impartial search of the true way of eternal happiness." We find, on turning to his life, what he thus refers to. Baptised under the sponsorship of Laud, and brought up under his influence; entering Oxford as a scholar of Trinity at the age of sixteen, and becoming a Fellow at twenty-six; taking to no professional or, as far as we know, tutorial work; gifted with a natural turn for argumentative debate, his life was pre-eminently that of a student and inquirer. Such a man, in that time and in that place, could not fail to be drawn to the great controversy, which then filled men's minds, as to the claims of Romanism on the one side, and of Anglicanism and Protestantism (not as yet contrasted terms, though tending to become so) on the other. The Jesuit Fisher, memorable as Laud's opponent in the controversy, found him in this state, and plied him, only too effectually, with the stock arguments in favour of the claims of the Romish Church to infallible authority. In the year 1629 he joined that Church, and passed from his Fellowship at Trinity to a renewed pupillage in the Jesuit seminary at Douay. His turn for asking questions, and not resting content with evasive answers, soon made him impatient of his life there. He became a "doubting Papist," and, once again,

"of a doubting Papist a confirmed Protestant." Laud had come to the rescue with his arguments for Protestantism, and the bird escaped out of the snare of the fowler. If he did not return at once to the fulness of his first love, and was content to remain as in lay communion with the Church of England, while he shrank from entering her ministry, it was because she seemed to him to have retained (notably in the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed) somewhat too much of the intolerance and anathematising spirit of the Church of Rome. Here also he found (the phrase seems to have been a favourite one with him) a "high and schismatical presumption." * It is clear from the interesting "*Apologia pro vita suâ*," which forms part of the Preface to the 'Religion of Protestants,' that he looked back upon these oscillations with no shame or regret. It was not discreditable to his intellect to have been dissatisfied with the popular arguments for Protestantism, which satisfied less acute minds, nor to have been dazzled for a time by the glamour of an alien system which promised to solve his difficulties; still less to have detected the inadequacy of that solution, and to have taken up a position, more or less apart from others, of inquiry and suspense. It was not discreditable to his character, for in each case he had made a real sacrifice for the love of truth. He

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* 'Works' (Oxford, 1838), I. p. xxvi.

looked back with a serene complacency on these changes as "the most satisfactory actions to himself that ever he did, and the greatest victory that he ever obtained over himself and his affections."* In joining the Church of Rome, he had forfeited his fellowship. In refusing to sign the Thirty-nine Articles, he shut himself out from all the natural pathways to preferment for scholars and divines. He was content to remain a scholar, and the friend of scholars, and among those friends were Hales, and Selden, and Falkland.†

Such was his position when, in 1638, he entered on the work to which he owes his reputation. There had been skirmishes before with Jesuits whom he had known at Douay and elsewhere, Lewgar and Floyd; but the controversy assumed a wider aspect, and he entered the list prepared to do battle with more redoubtable foes. He was encouraged and patronised in his work by Laud. It was submitted to Prideaux and Fell, and the then Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, for their approval. It was dedicated to the King. It was in part written at Great Tew, the family seat of Falkland, and not without the counsels of the men who gathered there as Falkland's guests. It was known that he was about to write, and his opponents sought to deter him by a libellous pamphlet, taunting him with the changes in his

* 'Religion of Protestants,' I. v. 103. † Preface, § 29.

religion, insinuating that he tuned his voice according to the time, and was in heart a Socinian; threatening him with the publication of papers that he had written against Protestantism while he was under Fisher's influence.

We naturally turn to a work by such a man, written under such conditions, with very high expectations. I am constrained to say that I think that in most cases those expectations are destined to a very grievous disappointment. The book is essentially the work of a second-rate, not of a first-rate thinker; of a mind logical, acute, disputatious, but not endowed with the "vision and the faculty divine" which gives width and equilibrium, and order and lucidity. The plan of the book is eminently characteristic of a controversialist of the second order. It is not a calm survey of the whole question, but is the fourth in a series of pamphlet-volumes, which have to be mastered before it can be properly understood. A Jesuit writer named Knott, with an alias of Wilson, had published, in 1630, a book under the title of 'Charity Mistaken,' which had for its object to show that the truest charity on the part of Catholics was to declare that "Protestancy unrepented destroys salvation," and that they were "mistaken," i.e. misjudged, when they were charged with want of charity for doing so. He was answered, in 1633, by Dr. Potter, Provost of Queens' College, Oxford, and replied in a volume of greater length

and considerable power, with the title of 'Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintained by Catholics.' It was to refute this reply that Chillingworth set to work. He stood proof against Knott's unscrupulous attempt to blacken his character before his book was published. He had the courage to print the treatise which he answered *in extenso,* and then dissect it, chapter by chapter, section by section, almost sentence by sentence. He exhibits in doing so a singular readiness in applying the forms of logic, such as led Locke to recommend the 'Religion of Protestants' as a mental athletic exercise, apart from the conclusions which it advocates. Few men are more skilful in detecting the use of equivocal terms, or an undistributed middle, or an illicit process of the minor. But the result of this, carried through a folio volume, is, as I think most readers must feel, somewhat tedious, jarring, and eminently unsatisfying. The controversy is involved in endless personalities. Had Dr. Potter fairly represented 'Charity Mistaken,' or adequately answered this or that paragraph in it? Had 'Charity Maintained' fairly represented or adequately answered this or that paragraph of Dr. Potter's? I frankly confess that I have not cared to read the books which are the first two terms in the series, and I doubt whether any man living has. I feel, with Pascal, that life is too short and work too pressing to give much time to these third-rate books. But, taking the last two

treatises, as they are printed together, the impression which they leave on one's mind is that of two disputants, not unfairly matched, holding an exercise, after the old fashion, in the Divinity School of a University; of two eminent counsel in some *cause célèbre*, who come last in the hearing of the case, and whose speeches are crammed with references to the arguments of those who have preceded them. It is clear, I think, that a mind of the first order would have chosen quite another method than this, and would have risen to the height of the great argument. Hooker and Butler had definite opponents enough. There is hardly a sentence in their great works which was not meant to bear upon something that those opponents had said; but they had the generalship which enabled them to plan a campaign, instead of wasting their strength in hand-to-hand skirmishes. They rose above the strife of tongues into a serener region, and pursued, through years of patient thought, the calm tenor of their way. It may sometimes seem necessary, as in a recent polemic against the writer of 'Supernatural Religion,'* to follow one who attacks what we hold dear, through a series of inaccuracies and misstatements, when the object is to diminish the authority of the vast erudition of which his book appears to be the outcome; but the work of the true apologist must be constructive as well as destructive.

* I refer, of course, to the masterly series of papers by Canon Lightfoot in the 'Contemporary Review' of the last two years.

He does well to guard himself as far as he can, against the cheap triumph of hitting a blot in the argument, or a mistake in the alleged facts, of his antagonist.

Chillingworth was, it must be owned, no vulgar Protestant controversialist. His book, dedicated, as has been said, to Charles I., was avowedly a defence of Laud's Conference with Fisher, and planned therefore, in part, upon the same lines.* The savour of the school of Laud was still so far on him that he never presses the popular declamatory arguments that Rome was Babylon, and that the Pope was Antichrist and the Man of Sin. He is more tolerant in his language as to her errors than the Homilies or the Articles, and never speaks of them as involving those who hold them in damnation. He looks with respect and affection on many of the Roman Catholic friends who held aloof from him.† Still less is he a Protestant on the Puritan-Calvinistic side of Protestantism. He shrinks from its unloving and unlovely dogmatism; from the Antinomian tendencies of its doctrine of justification by faith, from the claims of its wilder followers to a special illumination, from the tangled mazes of its reasonings about the Divine decrees, from the bareness and meagreness of its outward forms of worship.‡

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* Epistle Dedicatory to Charles I.

† "My own particular obligations to many of you, such and so great that you cannot perish without part of myself" ('Religion of Protestants,' i. 5).

‡ 'Religion of Protestants,' Pref. § 22.

There were clearly many points of sympathy—more than many of those who quote Chillingworth imagine—between such a man and Laud. We cannot wonder that the great representative of the Anglicanism of the Stuart period should have endeavoured to secure so able a writer for the ministry of the Church of England, and have persuaded him to sign the Articles and to accept the Damnatory Clauses under the cover of the wide latitude for open questions offered by the King's declaration, written, it is believed, by Laud himself, and prefixed to the Articles, as if it were an authoritative expression of the meaning of subscription. On the other hand, his position in relation to the Church of Rome is not that of the patristic Anglican. His charge against her is not that she has sinned against the tradition of the third or the fourth century, but that she has sinned against Scripture. His argument against her claim to speak with infallibility is not—or at least not prominently—that such and such Fathers are witnesses against it, that this or that Pope has been involved in acknowledged heresy, but that there is no *à priori* ground for expecting the guidance of a living infallible interpreter in addition to the infallible Word; that there is no Scriptural proof of the appointment of such an interpreter; and that if there were, as the Church of Rome teaches that men only know Scripture to be from God on her authority, men would still be treading in the circle of a vicious

and inconclusive reasoning. It was to be expected that a mind more than usually acute would make some successful points in the conduct of such an argument, and some of those which Chillingworth makes are put with a masterly dexterity. We have, it is true, to disinter the weapons from much that is as the lumber of a bygone age; but they have not altogether lost their edge, and may yet be useful in warfare against the same foe.

(1.) Nothing, for example, can be more effective than his retort on the Romanist plea that Protestantism leaves the minds of men floating in uncertainty, and that those who adhere to it can never have an assured certainty of faith or hope of salvation. "You," he replies in substance, "involve your followers in a far more terrible uncertainty. You teach that the validity of every sacrament but baptism depends upon its administration by a priest; that without priestly absolution there is no assurance of forgiveness; and you teach, further, that the intention of the priest is essential when he celebrates the Lord's Supper or pronounces absolution; that the intention of the Bishop is equally essential in imparting to him his priestly character. How is any one to know whether that condition has been fulfilled? How can any human intellect fathom the secret intentions of those who, from the Apostles' time to our own, have carried on the succession of the priesthood? How can the penitent know that

the individual priest from whom he hears the words of pardon intends to convey that pardon. If the priest turned atheist—and history showed it was not an impossible hypothesis—what effect had the sacraments so administered on the souls of those who received them? Was ever any doctrine more full of horrible uncertainties than this? Was the Protestant who trusted in the love of God revealed in Christ worse off as regards assurance than the Romanist?"* (2.) Or again, there was the Romish argument that a Church left without an infallible living voice to decide all questions as they arose would not answer the Divine purpose in calling a Church into existence; that Scripture, however sacred and true, and in itself infallible, needed an interpreter; that without such an interpreter the wants of men would not be adequately met, and that it was, therefore, a necessary consequence of our faith in the wisdom and goodness of God to believe that he had provided one. Here his answer is, after the manner of Butler, that all such assumptions are, in the nature of the case, shallow and gratuitous; that experience, and not expectation, must be the test of what actually is; that things are not always as we, in our weakness and blindness, wish that they might be, and therefore think they ought to be, and believe that they must be. And as the Roman theory

* 'Religion of Protestants,' I., ii. §§ 62–68.

implies that all written statements of truth, even inspired statements, are in their nature ambiguous, and therefore need interpretation, how can we know that the infallible interpretation, when reduced to writing, may not be equally ambiguous, and stand, therefore, equally in need of being itself interpreted? What assurance of faith is there, on this assumption, unless we extend the hypothesis of infallibility somewhat more widely? If what we think desirable is therefore credible, and therefore true, why not postulate an infallible Archbishop in every province, an infallible Bishop in every diocese, an infallible priest in every parish, so that every believer may thus have the living, unerring voice of the Church which alone can guide him? Why, indeed, stop there, or hesitate to claim, because we might wish it, a like infallibility for every member of the Church?* The high argument which, wrapt in the mist of rhetoric, had cast its spell in earlier days over his own intellect, Chillingworth thus pushes, as with the keenness of resentment, to a *reductio ad absurdum*, and there he leaves it. (3.) Or, once more, there was the claim of Rome to be the only guardian of the true meaning of the oracles of God, on which she professed, at least in theory, to found her teaching. The difficulties of Scripture were ostentatiously paraded, the uncertainties which hang over the authorship or canonicity of this or that book of Scripture,

* 'Religion of Protestants,' I. ii. § 128.

were pressed on the inquirer. What help was there in going to translations which might be erroneous, to commentaries which might be misleading? How was the Protestant believer, an "unlearned and ignorant man," to find his way in this labyrinth of error? What safety was there but in submitting to the Church; to the divinely-appointed head and ruler of that Church, who sat in the seat of Peter, and who could unfold the meaning of all dark and ambiguous texts? To this the answer was brief and telling enough. "If the Pope can do this, why does he not write a Commentary? Why not seat himself *in cathedrâ*, and fall to writing expositions upon the Bible for the direction of Christians to the true sense of it?" * Why hoard up the treasures committed to him instead of giving them as alms to a hungry and a thirsty world? I do not know what answer was given, or could be given, to this question. Probably the outcome of the editorial work of the Papacy in the manifold discrepancies of the Sixtine and Clementine texts of the Vulgate had not encouraged it to go further in that direction. The blunders of a Commentary could not be quite so easily transferred, as they had been, to the shoulders of the printer, and it was thought safer to let even the Rhemish and Douay versions go forth as private adventures, rather than incur the risk of stamping

* 'Religion of Protestants,' I. ii. § 95.

them with the seal of the fisherman as infallible representatives of the Divine originals.

It is obvious that one who could thus reason was on the way to a wide and comprehensive tolerance ; and in Chillingworth's nobler moods we find him giving utterance to conclusions in which wisdom and charity are alike conspicuous. Such passages have naturally been often quoted before, but they are worth quoting again. "When the Scriptures are not plain, then if we, using diligence to find the truth, do yet miss of it, and fall into error, there is no danger in it. They that err and they that do not err may both be saved. So that those places which contain things necessary, and where no error was dangerous, need no infallible interpreters, because they are plain ; and those that are obscure need none, because they contain not things necessary ; neither is error in them dangerous. . . . To say that God will damn men for errors as to such things, who are lovers of Him and lovers of truth, is to rob man of his comfort and God of His goodness; to make man desperate and God a tyrant. . . . If men suffer themselves neither to be betrayed into their errors nor kept in them by any sin of their wills, if they do their best endeavours to free themselves from all errors and yet fail of it through human frailty, so well am I persuaded of the goodness of God, that if in me alone should meet a confluence of all such errors of all the Protestants in the world that were thus qualified, I should not be

so much afraid of them all as I should to ask pardon for them."* (1.) It is clear that language such as this was a sword with two edges, and that it struck equally at the Roman and Protestant dogmatists. And those of the latter school who were wise in their generation, and saw the drift of things as well as their immediate working, were, for that reason, even more bitter in their hatred of Chillingworth than the controversialists who were his direct antagonists. To them he was an Arminian, a Socinian, and a sceptic. The fact that he had taken Orders under Laud's influence, and that he had joined the King's army and, with a strange versatility of talent, had actually suggested some new form of battering-ram for use in the siege of Gloucester—possibly also the rankling memory of old antagonism at Oxford—may have sharpened Cheynell's bitterness against the prisoner on whom he exercised his powers of mental torture; but he, and such as he, were not mistaken when they felt that their craft also was in danger to be set at nought if this new doctrine should spread, and the final anathema which he uttered, at Chillingworth's funeral, on the "cursed book—the corrupt and rotten book"—which had "seduced so many precious souls," has but too many parallels in the language used by men of very opposite schools and parties, of those who, in later times, have followed in Chilling-

* 'Religion of Protestants'—Answer to Preface of 'Charity Maintained,' p. 26.

worth's footsteps, and taught as he, in his best moments, taught.*

It was a hard matter in that time of evil tongues and evil days for a mind, even of the first order, to attain to its full-orbed completeness. Men had to act, and could not remain in an attitude of calm neutrality. They had to take their side, and to choose what seemed to them the least of evils, even while they felt painfully the faults and the perils of the side which they had chosen. We dare not blame such men as Falkland and Chillingworth for the choice they actually made. We may even believe that had we lived under the same conditions, we should have done as they did. We cannot read, without a pitying sadness, of Falkland's ingeminated "Peace," or of Chillingworth's description of the contending parties as "publicans and sinners, on the one side, against Scribes and Pharisees on the other;" "on the one side hypocrisy, on the other profaneness; no honesty or justice on the one side, and very little piety on the other."† But also we cannot think, without a sigh, of Falkland as joining the Council of Charles precisely at the time when he made himself an accessory after the fact to the King's most despotic outrage on the liberties of England. We feel a pang of regretful shame at the thought that the author of the 'Religion of Protestants,' identified himself

* See Tulloch's 'Leaders of Religious Thought,' I. p. 297.

† Sermon I.

with the ecclesiastical policy of Laud at the very time when men saw in it what was fatal at once to the liberty and to the Protestantism of England. Doubtless he felt that there was a hardness and bitterness, such as bore its fruit in the Westminster Confession, in the dogmatism of the Presbyterians, which was worse than anything he found in the Thirty-nine Articles or the Athanasian Creed. The tolerant latitude allowed to thought, if not to teaching, in the Royal Declaration, gave him room to breathe freely; and to a mind such as his, not indisposed to outward richness and comeliness in worship, many of the questions at issue between Laud and his opponents—gestures and positions, altars at the east end railed round, or open tables in the body of the church—would seem, rightly, to come under the category of "things indifferent," if not of the "infinitely little." As it was, the change brought with it a certain want of consistency, Traces of that failing are found even in his great work itself, and yet more in the Sermons which he preached after he accepted preferment. He had taught, in his nobler mood, that no man should condemn another who honestly seeks the truth; and he pronounces his anathema on those who hold doctrines which his Romanist opponent charged him with holding.* He looks on the doctrine that men

* Preface, § 28.

may be saved in any other religion but that of Christ as "impious and detestable."* He acknowledges an Act of Parliament of the 1st of Elizabeth as a rule of faith,† and pronounces all those who contravene it to be heretics. He had contended for freedom of thought, and he wishes that men were restrained by authority from preaching "Justification by Faith" unless they taught also the necessity of obedience; or even from reading the chapters of St. Paul's Epistles that proclaim it, unless it were balanced by reading at the same time the chapter that dwells on the excellence of charity‡. He had been charged with tendencies to Socinianism, and he vindicates himself by speaking of its theory of the Atonement, not as a lamentable error, but as a "blasphemous heresy."§ He had led men to think that all Scripture that touched on matters necessary to salvation was plain and easy, and needed no authoritative interpretation. And now it becomes almost a formula with him to call on his hearers to submit themselves, in the vexed controversies of the time, to the voice of "our Holy Mother the Church, speaking in her Articles and other formularies."‖ He disparages Luther's doctrine of justification, wishes that his Latin had never been Englished,¶ and treats the popular illustrations of it, "faith

* 'Religion of Protestants,' I. vii. § 8.
† Preface, § 38.
‡ 'Religion of Protestants,' I. vii. 32.
§ Sermon V. 29.
‖ Sermon VII. 8, 14; V. 58.
¶ Sermon V. 63.

the hand that lays hold of the righteousness of Christ," and so on, as mere "flowers of rhetoric, figures, and metaphors."* He speaks in language which would startle many of those who use his name and circulate his book, of the value of personal confession and the efficacy of priestly absolution, as distinct from comfortable and quieting words of counsel.† He had rightly urged that "nothing is more against religion than to force religion; that human violence may make men counterfeit, but cannot make them believe;" and he comes to count it as "a greater happiness than God had granted to His chosen servants in the infancy of the Church," that "we have now the sword of the civil magistrate, the power and enforcement of laws and statutes, to maintain our precious faith against all heretical or schismatical oppugners thereof."‡ The preacher of an almost universal tolerance has become the advocate of the policy of the Star Chamber, and could not rightly cast a stone at that of the Inquisition.

Nor can it be said that his system of religious thought, even in the treatise to which he owes his

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* Sermon VIII. 40.

† "Come not to him (the spiritual physician) only with such a mind as you would go to a learned man experienced in the Scriptures, as one that can speak comfortable and quieting words to you, but as to one that hath authority delegated to him from God Himself to absolve and acquit you of your sins" (Sermon VII. 14).

‡ Sermon II. 15. Compare also 'Religion of Protestants,' I. ii. 122.

fame, is thorough and complete. He postulates at once the sufficiency and the infallibility of Scripture. If asked how he knows the books which are recognised by Protestants to be Scripture, his answer is, by universal tradition. If pressed with the fact that, as regards some of them, the tradition is not universal, his answer is that there can in that case be no great harm or danger in the uncertainty, or that a single book, such as the Gospel of St. Mark, contains all things necessary to salvation; or that men may have a saving faith if they believe the fundamental truths contained in Scripture, even though they have never read a single book of Scripture, or, reading it, have not accepted the book as of Divine authority. He does not appear to have asked himself the question, which must yet be faced, on what grounds he held that Scripture was infallible,* or to what subjects its infallibility extended; how far the human character of the writer is traceable in what he wrote; how far there are different aspects and phases of the truth presented in it, according to the "sundry times and divers manners" in which God spake unto the Fathers. We do not find in him even the reverential caution that leads Hooker to protest against the "incredible praises"† which the ultra-Protestant party of his time lavished on the Scriptures as the one certain guide and standard of belief and action

* Preface, § 28.

† 'Eccles. Polity,' II. 8, § 7.

in all matters, secular or religious, human or Divine. To him the Bible is the Bible, and a text is a text, wherever it may be found, to be quoted as the end of controversy. We do not find in him, accordingly, any trace of that method of free and thoughtful study of book by book, and chapter by chapter, and word by word, of which Erasmus and Grotius had already set the example, and which even Hammond was at the time carrying on, not without success; or of that more devout and meditative study which bore such rich fruitage in the Sermons, and yet more in the Prayers, of Andrewes. He is haunted at every step by the controversies of the time, and far as he undertakes in his Sermons the work of an interpreter (and I am far from questioning his endeavours to be true and faithful in that work) his chief aim appears to be that of freeing the favourite texts of his Puritan opponents from the glosses which they had put on them.* He is as one standing outside the goodly edifice that had been reared, part by part, and with varying materials, in successive ages. He is loud in his praises of its strength and majesty. Its foundations are on the eternal rock; there is not a flaw in any stone in the whole building; it is an impregnable fortress; he counts its towers and bulwarks and is ready with his engines of defence; but he never seems to have studied its plan, or to have

* See, in particular, Sermon VIII.

entered into the thoughts of the master-builders who were from time to time employed on it, still less to have passed beyond the vestibule into the inner chambers, so as to bring forth things both new and old from the treasures of the house of the interpreter.

Nor can we assign higher praise to him as a student of Church history. It would be idle to contend that he had not read Fathers and Councils with considerable care, and could quote as well as another on occasion. But here also the spell of an age of controversy was on him. As he goes to his Bible for texts, so he goes to the Fathers for dogmatic authorities to quote, or dogmatic inconsistencies to detect. It never seems to occur to him, or, indeed, to the theologians of his time generally, that these men also were of like passions with ourselves; that they had fathers and mothers, and were once little children, and grew up among such and such surroundings; that there was action and re-action between them and the age in which they lived, and that each was more or less fashioned by the time that lay behind him and helped to mould that which came after him. Studied after Bacon's method, Ecclesiastical History deserves Bacon's praise,* "making men wiser than St. Augustine's or St. Ambrose's works," "teaching learned men to be

* 'Advancement of Learning,' II. i. § 2.

wise in the use and the administration of learning." But it was not so with Chillingworth. The rich eloquence and interpretative insight of John the Golden-mouthed; the wide hopes and sympathies and indefatigable labours of the saintly Origen; the manifold activities of Jerome, as the translator, the ascetic, the guide and director of the consciences of women; the marvellous Confessions in which Augustine lays bare the secret recesses of his soul,—these seem to have had for him no meaning and no attraction, except so far as they helped him with a quotation to fling at the head of Puritan or Papist.

What then are we to learn from the life and works of such an one as William Chillingworth? One lesson has been drawn from it by a teacher whose name we all hold in honour, which, because he has drawn it, at least deserves consideration. John Keble quotes in full the passage which I have cited at the commencement of this lecture, and adds, as his comment on the words, "the Bible and the Bible only, is the Religion of Protestants," and that which follows them,—"It is melancholy but instructive to reflect that the writer of these sentences is credibly reported to have been an Arian, or near it, before he died."* It seems a somewhat strange task to have to defend, as against the author of the 'Christian

* Keble's 'Sermon on Primitive Traditions,' note H.

Year,' the man who was the disciple of Laud, the friend of Falkland, the favoured child, if any ever was, of the school of Anglo-Catholic Theology. In justice, however, to the fair fame of William Chillingworth, I am constrained to say that there seems to be very little foundation for the charge thus brought. No evidence is given by Keble himself; and, so far as I can gather from other sources, the only proof alleged is an undated letter, belonging, it seems obvious, like another undated fragment against capital punishment,* to the unsettled, transition period of his life, before he wrote the 'Religion of Protestants,' in which he maintains "that the doctrine of Arius is either a truth, or, at least, no damnable heresy."† We have no reason, looking to the character of the man, and the sacrifices he had made for what he held to be the Truth, to question the sincerity with which he accepted the Nicene Creed, or even the substance of the Athanasian, and his Sermons are surely as little open to the charge of Arianism as those of Laud himself.

No; the lesson of his life seems, I think, of quite another character than that. It is "melancholy but instructive" to note the evil influence of transitional and troublous times on minds that gave promise of noble work, and seemed called to take their place among the leaders of religious thought. It is "melan-

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* 'Works' (Oxford, 1838), iii. p. 435. † *Ibid.* i. p. xxiii.

choly but instructive," to watch the oscillations and inconsistencies of a mind which, if not great, at least appeared capable of greatness; to see how the man who had blown the trumpet, as with no uncertain sound, shrank back, recoiling from the noise himself had made; how the seeker after truth at thirty became at forty the timid, or querulous, or declamatory defender of established formulæ, vindicating his own suspected orthodoxy by denouncing and anathematising the heterodoxy of others. We feel a shock as we unveil these infirmities of nature which we do not feel as we read like language in the writings of Laud, or Montague, or Sacheverell. Such men speak according to their nature; but better things might have been hoped from Chillingworth, and we may well weep when we think that "Atticus is he" who has thus left a name to point once more the moral of human weakness. I, for one, must own that I cannot place him among the master spirits of the Church of England, or accept the judgment that "there are few names, even in a history so fruitful in great names as that of the Church of England, which more excite our admiration, or which claim a higher place in the development of religious thought."*

I turn lastly from the writer to the book. Was it a master-piece of thought, a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεὶ, such as the world will not willingly let die; a work to put into

* Tulloch's 'Leaders of Religious Thought,' I. p. 343.

the hands of students of theology as a guide in forming their convictions? I confess that I cannot bring myself to assign that character to it. Looking to its structural defects, the absence of any other plan than that of following, step by step, the tortuous windings of his adversary's argument, it can claim to be nothing more than an overgrown and enormous pamphlet, with wellnigh all the faults incidental to that form of controversial literature. It may be true, as Locke has said, that it supplies an admirable training for the logical powers of men; but it may be questioned whether, even from that point of view, the exercises in which it practises the mental muscles, like the old fashioned fencing of the period in its action on the muscles of the body, do not tend to a somewhat formal and artificial action. And the man must have a steadier footing and a stronger brain than fall to the lot of most young students who can read the 'Religion of Protestants' as it ought to be read, giving equal attention to the arguments on either side, without feeling more or less puzzled and bewildered. Physiologists tell us that there is nothing that so rapidly brings on the symptoms of intoxication as to take strong and fiery liquors, of contrasted tastes and qualities, sip by sip, alternately. Men lose their perception of the difference of flavour; they cease to distinguish good wine from bad. Before long they stagger as a drunken man. And something analogous to these phenomena is not unlikely, I

fear, to be the result with unstable and weak minds as they take the alternate doses of Romanism and Protestantism which Chillingworth's work presents to them. It may even be doubted whether the cause which we hold to be the strongest has not on the whole, in spite of some telling and effective passages, the less winning and persuasive advocate. There is on the side of the author of 'Charity Maintained,' as in many writings of the same school, a confident assumption of certainty; a thoroughgoing consistency in maintaining that assumption; a half-threatening, half-pitying argument *in terrorem*, that the Protestant who could not plead invincible ignorance—and it was of course assumed that no one who read the argument could afterwards put in that plea—would, without doubt, perish everlastingly, which may prove as telling on an unsettled mind as like arguments had proved on Chillingworth himself. He is free from the embarrassments to which his opponent is exposed by his want of thoroughness and not unfrequent inconsistencies. In his desire to make a point, Chillingworth really underrates the evidence which the New Testament itself supplies to a wide-spread knowledge of our Lord's life and teaching, to a well-defined system of faith and practice and worship, before a single Gospel or Epistle was in existence. He unduly disparages the weight of the *consensus* of Christendom as to the main outlines of the faith contained in Scripture as well

as to the authority of Scripture itself. He has no wide and far-reaching hope to set against the threats of his opponent. It is a terrible thing for the Romanist to say that Protestants cannot be saved except by repenting of their errors, but he has not gone further than the Romanists, if so far, in extending the plea of ignorance, and therefore the hope of salvation, to the Jew, the heretic, and the heathen.

Young minds need, it seems to me, the guidance of a calmer and more evenly balanced intellect than that of one who is neither thorough nor consistent nor complete — whose whole life was a series of disputes, and oscillations ending in retrogression. There is too much ground, I believe, to fear lest one who was left to the impressions formed by his books and by his life might grow bewildered and perplexed with the din of endless controversies, and that at last, weary of the strife of tongues, he might be tempted, as nobler intellects than Chillingworth have in our own time been tempted, to take that fatal leap in the dark which has been well described as a flight "on the wings of an unbounded scepticism into the depths of an unfathomed superstition."*

* The sentence occurs in a Charge delivered to Candidates for Orders in 1846, by the late Bishop Wilberforce, in reference to the conversion of Dr. John Henry Newman to the Church of Rome.

No; there is a more excellent way than these interminable debates, postulating infallibility on either side, on the conflicting claims of Scripture and of the Church. It is at once our right and our duty, finding ourselves in face of both as actual phenomena, worthy, by the part which they have played in the world's history, and by the influence they have exercised and are exercising now, of all serious consideration, to ask what Scripture really is, to trace what the Church of Christ has actually done, what aspects of truth have been presented to mankind by each, through what stages of growth each has been developed. If, as has been the case with most of us, we have felt ourselves, or have seen in others, the power of Scripture, or of fellowship in the Communion of Saints, to purify and bless, to comfort and to calm, that experience, though it is no bar to the full freedom of inquiry, is yet an element of evidence which we cannot rightly or wisely ignore. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof," and the controversies of our own times are surely enough, and more than enough, for us, without raking overmuch into the dust and ashes, the mouldering bones and rags, of the controversies of the past. Our last words of counsel for the student of religious thought, in relation to Chillingworth and the writings with which his name is identified, may well be, after the pattern of those which were spoken of old to the wavering disciple, "Let the dead bury their dead; but

go thou and preach the Kingdom of God." Let pamphleteer wrangle with pamphleteer; but go thou, and study, faithfully and patiently, boldly and yet reverentially, reverentially and yet boldly, the Books which have made Christendom what it is, and the Christendom which the Books have made.

BENJAMIN WHICHCOTE.

Born 1609; Died 1683; Buried at St. Lawrence Jewry.*

Whichcote's central principle, the essential unity of all truth and its affinity to the constitution of man (1), opposed to contemporary English thought (2).

His historical position explains the stress which he laid upon action (3). Traits of his life (4). His Remains (5).

The "truths of first inscription" witness to man's true destiny as made for God (6). Sin is unnatural (7): and carries with it consequences like itself (8).

Hence nature leaves us with a final conflict (9), which the "truths of after revelation" solve (10).

At the same time revelation appeals to reason (11) and completely satisfies it (12). Hence comes the duty of personal inquiry (13) and of gaining solid conviction in matters of religion (14); for which work God has given us powers which we are bound to use (15).

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* The edition of the Sermons to which reference is made is that published at Aberdeen, in 1751, 4 vols. The references are given by volume and page (*e.g.* i. 371). The aphorisms and letters are quoted from the edition published in London, 1753. The references to the aphorisms are given by the number (*e.g.* A. 916). It would have been easy to multiply references, but I do not think that one has been given which will not amply repay the trouble of examination.

It may be added that there is a characteristic portrait of Whichcote in the Hall of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. His face, tender and half-sad in expression, has much of that refinement of feature which is conspicuous in George Herbert. The portrait offers a strange contrast to those near which it is hung. I have not been able to learn anything of its history.

In this way action and thought act and react (16); and character is slowly formed (17); and the ground of our future is certainly laid (18) both as regards punishment (19) and happiness (20).
Whichcote deprecates exactness of dogmatic definition (21). His judgment on 'mere naturalists' (22).
His thoughts essentially modern (23) and more comprehensive than those of succeeding schools (24); but his influence was mainly confined to his contemporaries (25).
His defects (26) not inherent in his great principles (27); while he accepted the teaching of the Holy Spirit in each age (28).

1. "THE Spirit of man is the candle of the Lord."* This phrase, "over-frequently quoted" by Whichcote, as his opponents alleged, at once brings before us the central characteristic of his teaching. For him reason was "lighted by God and lighting us to God, *res illuminata, illuminans.*"† "What," he asks, "doth God speak to but my reason? and should not that which is spoken to hear? should it not judge, discern, conceive, what is God's meaning?"‡ "I count it true sacrilege to take from God to give to the creature, yet I look at it as a dishonouring of God to nullify and make base His works, and to think He made a sorry, worthless piece, fit for no use, when He made man."§ "Truth is so near to the soul, so much the very image and form of it, that it may be said of truth, that as the soul is by derivation from God, so truth by communication. No sooner doth the truth of

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* Prov. xx. 27.
† A. 916. Comp. i. 371.
‡ Letters, p. 48.
§ Letters, p. 112.

God come into the soul's sight, but the soul knows her to be her first and old acquaintance. Though they have been by some accident unhappily parted a great while, yet, having now through the Divine Providence happily met, they greet one another and renew their acquaintance as those that were first and ancient friends. . . . Nothing is more natural to man's soul than to receive truth. . . ."* In this respect the grand articles of the Gospel are as natural as the precepts of the moral law. "When the revelation of faith comes, the inward sense awakened to the entertainment thereof, saith Εὕρηκα. It is, as I imagined: the thing expected proves: Christ the desire of all nations; that is, the desire of their state: at least the necessity of their state."†

2. By this bold affirmation of the unity of Truth, natural and revealed, which he held to differ only "in way of descent to us," and to be equally "connatural" to man,‡ corresponding in various ways to his complex and yet indivisible being, appealing alike to the "testimony of the soul, naturally Christian," Whichcote traversed the one conclusion in which the most powerful representatives of English thought in his day were united. Bacon and Hobbes, Puritans and Prelatists, agreed in treating philosophy and

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* iii. 17 f. Comp. i. 353.
† Letters, p. 102.
‡ iii. 20. A. 444. iii. 213, 388.

religion as things wholly different in kind. The extreme schools on each side concurred in "wounding virtue," in "destroying" the belief of any immediate good or happiness in it as a thing in any way suitable to our make and constitution.* Against both Whichcote stood forth, in the phrase of Lord Shaftesbury, who appreciated one half of his teaching, as "the preacher of good-nature;" yet so that he never contemplated man apart from God, "abhorring and detesting," in his own vigorous words "all creature-magnifying self-sufficiency." †

3. Whichcote's historical position illustrates the development of his principles; and his life is a commentary on their power. The vigour of his manhood was passed in a period of revolution in which every opinion and institution which had been held sacred in the past was questioned or overthrown. He saw the rise of a new philosophy, of a new civil constitution, of a new ecclesiastical organisation; and in part he saw the old restored. At Cambridge he was the contemporary of Milton and Jeremy Taylor, and again of Barrow and Ray. The date of his ordination coincided with that of the imposition of the ship-money (1636), and fell a year before the appearance of Descartes' 'Discourse.' His controversy with Tuckney coincided with the Battle of Worcester and the publication of Hobbes' 'Leviathan' (1656). His death

* *Shaftesbury, Preface*, pp. vii. f. † Letters, pp. 100, 58.

coincided with the execution of Lord W. Russell and the Oxford declaration in favour of passive obedience (1683). In such an age a serious thinker, removed from the turmoil of affairs, could not but look earnestly for some stable foundation for life. Controversy had issued in an anarchy of sects. Authority had been invoked on opposite sides with peremptory sternness. Enthusiasts had ventured to claim for their extravagances the title of inspiration. Theology, systematised with logical precision in the Westminster Confession, had failed to cover or to meet the actual facts of daily experience. It was not strange then that one whose work was in the Eastern University should attempt once more to look fairly at "all reasons," to co-ordinate the conflicting phenomena which he regarded from afar; not strange that he should find the test of truth which he required in character and conduct. For Whichcote truth was the soul of action. "I act, therefore I am,"* was the memorable sentence in which he echoed and answered the *cogito ergo sum* of Descartes. But I act not as my own maker, not as my own sustainer, but as the creature and servant of Him who is original of all and will be final to all; who is "to be adored as the chiefest beauty and loved as the first and chiefest good," who hath given us "a large capacity which He will fulfil,

* iii. 241.

and a special relation to Himself, which He will answer."*

4. The life of Whichcote was, as I have said, a happy commentary on his principles. Calm, firm, large-hearted and loving, he passed through sharp controversies without losing a friend; he accepted a dignity—the Provostship of King's College—of which another was deprived, and was himself displaced from it, without diminishing his reputation. Through all changes he held on his own way; a thinker rather than a reader in an age pre-eminent for learning; a believer in the present in a society devoted to the past. Trained, as it appears, in a Puritan family, entered at Cambridge in the Puritan foundation of Emmanuel College, acknowledging with affection his obligations to his Puritan tutor, he ventured to judge for himself, even as a young man,† without affecting isolation in the maturity of his power. "I have had experience," he answers Tuckney, "of that frame of spirit in the former part of my life, and . . . I can no more look back than St. Paul, after Christ discovered to him, could return into his former strain."‡ As a College lecturer, he turned aside from Protestant Scholasticism "to Philosophy and Metaphysics."§ As Vice-Chancellor he deliberately justified his choice.

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* ii. 61; 94. † Letters, p. 12. ‡ Letters, p. 115. § Letters, p. 36.

Yet even here he sought guidance within rather than without. "Truly, I shame myself to tell," he writes, "how little I have been acquainted with books. . . . I have not read many books, but I have studied a few. Meditation and invention hath been rather my life than reading."* So it was that alone of his equals he published nothing. His influence was in personal intercourse, in preaching and conversation. Ready to learn even to the last, gladly confessing that no man gains so much as by teaching,† he was able to sympathise with the "young scholars" who flocked to hear him, and with the "young divines," of whom he was "a great encourager and kind director."‡ In such traits the true teacher rises before us, tender in his patience and strong in his wisdom, of whom his greater pupil Smith could say that "he lived upon him."§

5. The only writings of Whichcote which have been preserved in a complete form are four letters to his old tutor, Dr. Tuckney, which deal with the main points in which he was at issue with "orthodox" Puritanism: "The use of reason in religion, the differences of opinion among Christians, the reconciliation of sinners unto God, the studies and learning of a minister of the Gospel." A considerable number

* Letters, p. 54.
† iii. 90.
‡ Tillotson's 'Funeral Sermon,' pp. 32, 24, 33, 31.
§ Aphorisms, *Pref.* p. xviii.

of his Sermons were published after his death, partly from notes of his hearers and partly from his own notes; and besides these, twelve centuries of "aphorisms" were taken from his papers, of which the greater part are found literally or substantially in his other remains. But though these materials are fragmentary and in part confused, it is not difficult to gain a clear and connected view of his system. His frequent repetitions, his bright epigrams, his earnest simplicity, bring his main thoughts vividly before the reader; for when he spoke from the pulpit he appears to have laid aside the technical forms which sometimes on other occasions provoked the criticism of his contemporaries.

6. The foundation of Whichcote's teaching is the postulate or axiom that man was made by God to know Him, and to become like Him. Of this truth man, he affirms, is himself the witness. "God is the centre of immortal souls." . . . "If God had not made man to know there is a God, there is nothing that God could have demanded of him, nothing wherein He might have challenged him, nothing that He could have expected man should have received of Him."* As it is "the truths of first inscription," as Whichcote calls them; "the light of God's creation;" "the true issue of reason;" the facts that God is; that every fellow-man, as man, claims our respect;

* iii. 144.

that every man must reverence himself; or, in other words, the three duties of godliness, righteousness, and sobriety, are, he shows, such that you must unmake man if you deny them.* Truth and goodness, right and justice, are a law with God, unchangeable as He is. The reasons of things are eternal; they are not subject to our power; we practise not upon them. "They are as much our rule as sense is to sensitives, or the nature of things to inanimates." It is our wisdom to observe them, and our uprightness to comply with them. If we think otherwise than they require, we live in a lie.†

7. So far we remain as we were created. For the Fall has not altered the destination of man nor obliterated his knowledge of it. "The idolatry of the world," as Whichcote profoundly remarks, "hath been about the medium of worship, not about the object of worship."‡ The testimony of conscience—our "home-God," as he calls it§—still remains. Great hopes and great aspirations contend in the human heart with the sense of weakness and failure. Sin, however familar, is "unnatural," "contrary to the reason of the mind which is our governor, and contrary to the reason of things which is our law." Wrong-doing is evil, not only

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* iii. 22 ff; 120 f. A. 630, 126, 211, 989. iii, 422.

† i. 68, 71. A. 258. Comp. 116, 257, 333, 455, 456. iii. 92; i. 149, 386, 253. ii, 397. A. 157, 797. iii. 91, 372, 387 f.

‡ iii. 202.

§ i. 40. Comp. A. 1092.

because God has forbidden it, but by its intrinsic malignity.*

8. These truths involve, as it is evident, consequences of infinite moment. The results of actions are like the actions themselves. Sin carries with it inevitably the seeds of misery; virtue the seeds of joy. For happiness and misery hereafter are not simple effects of Divine power and pleasure; they have a foundation in nature.† It is impossible to make a man happy by putting him into a happy place unless he be first in a happy state.‡ "Heaven," as he tersely says, "is first a temper and then a place."§ "Heaven present is our resemblance to God, and men deceive themselves grossly when they flatter themselves with the hopes of a future heaven, and yet do, by wickedness of heart and life, contradict heaven present."‖ So far therefore as man has lost the Divine image, happiness for him is inherently impossible.

9. Here, then, by the contemplation of the original facts of nature, we are brought face to face with the great enigma of life. How can man, fallen, sin-stained, estranged from God, gain his true end? The "truths of first inscription" witness inexorably against him. Whichcote points to the answer which

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* i. 212; iv. 192. A. 212, 523. ii. 397. A. 918.

† ii. 198.

‡ A. 216.

§ A. 464.

‖ ii. 196. Comp. iv. 255.

lies in the "truths of after revelation." These are "the soul's cure."* By them we are assured of forgiveness upon repentance and faith in Christ, and of needful help in the struggle of life; things credible indeed, yet such that nothing short of the Mission of the Son of God could have established them solidly.

10. By this Mission, God has re-established His loving purpose. The light of reason is supplemented by the light of Scripture.† To use the former is to do no disservice to grace, for God is acknowledged in both; in the former, as laying the groundwork of His creation; in the latter, as restoring it.‡ And this second gift is as universal and as real as the first. "When God commands the sinner to repent, this supposes either that he is able, or that God will make him so." §

11. It is unnecessary to examine Whichcote's views on atonement, mediation, grace, repentance, faith, justification, though they are full of striking points. The characteristic features of his teaching are better shown by the emphasis with which he claims to bring these doctrines of Scripture to the test of reason, and affirms their complete harmony with it. "We must be men," he writes, "before we can be Christians." ‖ "The reason is the only tool with which we can do man's work.¶ If God did not make my

* iii. 20.
† A. 109, 778, 920.
‡ i. 371.
§ A. 516, 811.
‖ A. 997.
¶ ii. 407.

faculties true, I am absolutely discharged from all duty to Him.* For a man hath not a sovereignty over his judgment; he must judge and believe where he sees cause and reason.† The reason of a man's mind must be satisfied; no man can think against it.‡ But they are greatly mistaken," he argues, "who in religion oppose points of reason and matters of faith; as if nature went one way and the Author of nature went another."§ The facts and the commands of the Gospel equally answer to our constitution.

12. In virtue of this absolute correspondence between Christianity and the soul, revealed truths are seen to be transcendent, but not repugnant to the nature of man.‖ "Though they be not of reason's invention, yet they are of the prepared mind readily entertained and received"¶ . . . "For men are disposed and qualified by reason for the entertaining those matters of faith that are proposed by God."** So false is it that the matter of our faith is unaccountable, or that there is anything unreasonable in religion, that there is no such matter of credit in the world as the matters of faith; nothing more intelligible.†† "Nowhere is a man's reason so much satisfied."‡‡ If he be "once in a true state of religion,

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* i. 170.
† iii. 216.
‡ iv. 201; ii. 29. A. 942.
§ A. 878.
‖ ii. 302.
¶ Letters, p. 47.
** A. 644. Comp. 99.
†† iii. 23 f.; i. 71, 174.
‡‡ A. 943.

he cannot distinguish between religion and the reason of his mind; so that his religion is the reason of his mind, and the reason of his mind is his religion. . . . His reason is sanctified by his religion and his religion helps and makes use of his reason. Reason and religion in the subject are but one thing. . . ." * "This I dare defend against the whole world, that there is no one thing in all that religion which is of God's making, that any sober man in the true use of his reason would be released from, though he might have it under the seal of heaven." † The obligation to truth is perfect freedom. ‡ The vision of the Lord in glory to St. Paul was not more convincing than the exhibition of the Gospel to the soul. § On the other hand, no sign can warrant our belief unless it be in conjunction with a doctrine worthy of God. ‖ "And to me it seems," Whichcote says, with stern indignation, "to be one of the greatest prodigies in the world that men that are rational and intelligent should admit that for religion, which for its shallowness, emptiness, and insignificancy, falls under the just reproof and conviction and condemnation of reason; religion which makes us less men; religion unintelligible, or not able to give satisfaction to the noble principles of God's creation." ¶

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* iv. 147.
† iv. 193. Comp. ii. 140.
‡ iv. 339. A. 205, 724, 725.
§ iii. 88.
‖ A. 1177.
¶ iii. 249.

13. Our reason, therefore, "is not laid aside nor discharged, much less is it confounded by any of the materials of religion; but awakened, excited, employed, directed, and improved by it; for the . . . understanding is that faculty whereby man is made capable of God and apprehensive of Him, receptive from Him and able to make returns upon Him.* . . ." Religion is the living sum of these manifold activities. It is not "made up of ignorant well-meanings or . . . slight imaginations, credulous suspicion or fond conceit"; that is superstition; "but of deliberate resolutions and diligent searches into the reason of things, and into the rational sense of Holy Scripture."† We must then study it till the reason of our minds receives satisfaction; for till then we cannot count it our own, nor has it security and settlement.‡ We must have a reason for that which we believe above our reason.§ It is the peculiarity of human nature that man, through the reason of his mind, can come to understand the reason of things; and there is no coming to religion but this way.‖ The riches of earth can be left and inherited; the wealth of the soul must be won.¶

14. Thus there is laid upon every one, according to

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* iv. 139 f.
† iv. 151.
‡ iv. 149. A. 1089. iv. 292.
§ A. 771.
‖ iv. 142.
¶ iv. 141.

the measure of his opportunity, the duty of personal inquiry. To neglect this is to incur the guilt of superstition, or insincerity, or self-conceit.* The use of private judgment requires, no doubt, far more preparation and diligence than men commonly suppose, a larger comprehension of facts, a more patient weighing of deductions; but it is a fundamental duty.† "If you see not well," Whichcote writes, "hear the better: if you see not far, hear the more. The consequence of truth is great; therefore the judgment of it must not be negligent." ‡ "He that believes what God saith without evidence that God says it, doth not believe God, while he believes the thing which comes from God." § By a natural reaction, "he that is light of belief will be as light of unbelief;" § and "of all impotencies in the world credulity in religion is the greatest." ¶ "It doth not, then, become a Christian to be credulous." ** He must make it his business to set up a throne of judgment in his own soul; for that is "not an act of religion which is not an act of the understanding; that is not an act of religion which is not even human." ††

15. In virtue of this continuous obligation we work from first to last, and God also works. Belief and

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* ii. 387; iv. 337 ff.
† ii. 38. A. 622. iii. 416.
‡ A. 1090.
§ A. 977.
‖ A. 292.
¶ iv. 143.
** iii. 114.
†† i. 151 f. 157.

repentance are vital acts.* The selfsame thing that is in us called virtue, as it refers to God, is grace.† It is far from true that man hath nothing to do upon supposition that God hath done all.‡ Nay, rather by the appropriation of His gifts our noblest powers find their noblest exercise; and it ill becomes us to make our intellectual faculties "Gibeonites"—in Whichcote's picturesque phrase—mere drudges for the meanest services of the world.§ The rule of their employment even now should be their future destiny: the law of heaven should be the law of the world.‖ Can any man think, he asks, that God gave him his immortal spirit as salt, only to keep his body from decay?¶ Nay, he that is in a good state hath still work to do.** "God, who hath made us what we are, would have us employ and improve what we have. Faculties without any acquired habits witness for God and condemn us;"†† and in spiritual things the paradox is true, that what is not used is not had.‡‡

16. Such reflections serve to indicate the close relation between thought and action, on which Whichcote lays great stress. "I have always found," he writes, "such preaching of others hath most commanded my heart which hath most illuminated my head."§§

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* i. 70. iii. 87.
† ii. 205.
‡ A. 179.
§ iii. 186, 220, 323.
‖ iv. 435.
¶ iii. 147.
** A. 564.
†† A. 1088.
‡‡ A. 1111.
§§ A. 393.

Reason and argument are transforming principles in intellectual natures.* True knowledge involves of necessity a right affection towards the things known; for knowledge unfulfilled is the most troublesome guest that can be entertained.† Or, to take another figure: Truth is a seminal principle in the mind which must bring forth fruit unless it be killed.‡ Therefore, he says, to give one application, as thou art a Christian, take up this resolution, that it shall be better for every one with whom thou hast to do, because Christ died for thee and for him.§ And to sum up all in one pregnant sentence: "When the doctrine of the Gospel becomes the reason of our mind, it will be the principle of our life." ‖

17. So it is by action answering to knowledge that character is slowly shaped according to an inevitable law. That which is worldly in respect of the matter can be made spiritual through the intention of the agent.¶ For religion is able to possess and affect the whole man, and bring that unity to his conflicting powers whereby he gains the chiefest of good things that he is himself, his true self.** In this respect "we have ourselves as we use ourselves."†† We are not born with habits, but only with faculties. "We

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* iv. 175.
† iii. 61.
‡ iii. 211.
§ iv. 45.
‖ A. 94. Comp. 132.
¶ A. 520.
** A. 956.
†† A. 341. iii. 224.

are so in act as we are in habit, and so in habit as we are in act." * Thoughts of God and things divine mightily enlarge the parts of men; on the contrary, men's parts wither away if they be not excited and called forth to nobler acts by higher objects. The mind, as a glass, receives all images; and the soul becomes that with which it is in conjunction. †

18. This law of correspondence is universal, and of immediate efficacy; but in our present state the true issues of action are often obscured or hidden. Hereafter, however, all will be made plain. Judgment is a revelation of character: punishment is the unchecked stream of consequence. Every man may estimate his future state by his present. He will then be more of the same, or the same more intensely. Therefore "there must be salvation of grace as antecedent to that of glory. . . . otherwise there is no salvation." "The unrighteous are condemned by themselves before they are condemned of God." A guilty conscience hath hell within itself. ‡

19. Such a line of argument throws light upon the warnings of the Gospels. It shows that impenitence in its very essence is not compassionable. Repentance is the moral correlative to forgiveness. An impenitent sinner cannot be pardoned, because God

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* iii. 339; i. 43; iv. 317.
† iv. 318. A. 366.
‡ A. 188. i. 321, 244. A. 232. ii. 198.

cannot contradict Himself.* He cannot be reconciled to unrighteousness; and the impenitent will not be reconciled to righteousness.† "Though God should tell me my sins were pardoned," Whichcote boldly says, "I would not believe it, unless I repent and deprecate His displeasure."‡ For this reason he maintained with energetic distinctness that the work of Christ must be "wrought not only *for* us but *in* us."§ "All the world," he writes, "will not secure that man that is not in reconciliation with the reason of his own mind."‖ "It is not possible we should be made happy by God Himself if not reconciled to Him. . . . If we through the Spirit of God be not naturalized to Him, we shall glory but in an ineffectual Saviour."¶

20. The application of the same moral law confirms also man's expectations of future happiness. The feeble strivings after God which have been made on earth gain their consummation in heaven. When we are born into time, that makes a great difference;** but born out of time into eternity makes a far greater. In our present state it is through the thought of God that we come to know the powers of our souls. He, their one proper object, calls them into activity. The soul of man is to God as the flower to the sun: it opens at His approach and shuts when He with-

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* A. 840. † A. 1025. ‡ iii. 40. § Letters, p. 13.
‖ i. 95. ¶ ii. 263. ** ii. 120.

draws.* And "I am apt to think," Whichcote adds, "that in the heavenly state hereafter, when God shall otherwise declare Himself to us than now He doth, those latent powers which now we have may open and unfold themselves, and thereby we may be made able to act in a far higher way. . . ." † The nearer approach to God will give us more use of ourselves. "Oh God," he exclaims elsewhere, with an unconscious recollection of Augustine, "Thou hast made us for Thyself, our souls are unsatisfied and unquiet in us, there is emptiness till Thou dost communicate Thyself, till we return unto Thee. . . ." ‡ Self-denial, self-surrender, devotion are Thy injunctions upon us, not for Thy sake, but that we who are empty, shallow, insufficient, may go out of ourselves, and find in Thee fulness, satisfaction, abundance.

21. It was a necessary consequence of Whichcote's conception of the Gospel, that he regarded the moral element in it as supreme. In spite of his power to deal with the widest thoughts, he constantly checks himself that he may come to the analysis of homely duties. He regards the positive institutions of religion as absolutely subservient to moral ends. Men may not multiply them as binding. § "There is no Shekinah," he says, with a noble figure, "but by

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* iii. 104. † iv. 196. ‡ iv. 314.
§ iv. 187. A. 835.

Divine assignation." * In the same spirit he pleads, again and again, against subtleties of definition, or the imposition upon others of words not found in the Bible.† "Where the doctrine," he says, "is necessary and important, the Scripture is clear and full:" we need not attempt to determine things more particularly than God hath determined them. ‡ "Such determinations," he adds, sadly, "have indeed enlarged faith, but they have lessened charity and multiplied divisions." For our greatest zeal is in things doubtful and questionable. § We are more concerned for that which is our own in religion than for that which is God's. ‖ But true teachers are not masters but helpers; they are not to make religion, but to show it. ¶ And while men are what they are, different in constitution and circumstances, there must be differences of opinion; but these, Whichcote argues, vanish in the light of common allegiance to Christ, and contribute to a fuller apprehension of the truth. ** In things rational as in things natural, motion is required to avert the corruption of unbroken stillness. †† The sun having broken through the thickest cloud, will after that scatter the less; nothing, he concludes, is desperate in the condition of good men. ‡‡

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* A. 648. iii. 200.
† ii. 390. A. 578.
‡ A. 1188; 152; 175. ii. 241.
§ A. 981; 1036; 1054.
‖ ii. 261; A. 499.
¶ i. 178.
** iv. 204 f; 378 f; 380 ff. A. 712.
†† i. 84.
‡‡ ii. 20; i. 65.

22. Even this splendid hope does not exhaust the measure of Whichcote's charity. His sympathy extends beyond the limits of that one Church "which grows not old." Some there are, he says, that are mere naturalists. I do not blame them as the world blames them. I do not blame them that they are very slow of faith, that they will not believe farther than they see reason. . . . A man cannot dishonour God and abuse himself more than to be light of faith. Such persons one would compassionate as soon as any men in the world. I would say to them, You do well as far as you go; you do well to entertain all that God hath laid the foundation for; you do well to follow the light of reason; but do you think that God can do no more? do you think that God did all at once? Nay, rather, your own experience, if you give heed to it, will in due time reveal to you the wants which the Gospel meets.*

23. Any one who has followed this outline of Whichcote's teaching, which I have given as far as possible in his own words, will, I think, have been struck by its modern type. It represents much that is most generous and noblest in the "moral divinity" of to-day. It anticipates language which we hear now on many sides. It affirms in the name of Christianity much that is said to be in antagonism with it. It

* ii. 313 f.

brings faith into harmony with moral law, both in its object and in its issues. It affirms the final identity of the true conception and aims of philosophy, religion and life.

24. The fragmentariness and informality of the records of Whichcote's teaching obscure in some degree its scientific value; but it is not difficult to see that he takes account of the manifold elements which enter into the problems of morality with a breadth of view which, as far as I know, is found only in his pupil Smith, till it appears again, though with more sombre effects, in Bishop Butler. As compared with the abstract, intellectual school of Clarke, he insists on the co-ordination of all human faculties and endowments. He finds the expression of humanity in action and not in thought. He comes before God in the fulness of his complex nature. In the picture which he draws of man's moral constitution he has many points of correspondence with Shaftesbury, who "searched after and published" a selection of his Sermons in 1698;* but Whichcote does not, like Shaftesbury, dissemble the darker aspects of life. He recognizes harmony as the essential, divine law of the universe, but he never fails to recognize that it has been disturbed. His

* It is an interesting fact that Clarke also published a volume of his Sermons in 1707. This I have not seen.

hope, as far as he expresses it, lies in the efficacy of the discipline of God, which, he seems to imply, must sooner or later secure its end.

25. In spite of these characteristics of his line of thought, which are doubly attractive in a teacher singularly pure and lofty, Whichcote failed to influence English speculation permanently. It would be interesting to discover the origin of Shaftesbury's admiration for him; for his power seems to have been practically confined to those with whom he came into personal contact. He inspired his hearers, men of great and varied power, Smith and More, Worthington and Cudworth, Patrick and Tillotson; but he founded no school, and left no successors in a third generation.

26. The transitoriness of Whichcote's influence may be due in some degree to political causes; but it is not difficult I think, to indicate defects in his teaching which contributed to this partial failure. He had an imperfect conception of the corporate character of the Church, and of the Divine life of the Christian Society. The abstractions of Plotinus had begun to produce in his case the injurious effects which were more conspicuous in his followers. He had little or no sense of the historic growth of the Church. His teaching on the Sacraments is vague and infrequent.

27. But these defects are not inherent in his

principles. On the contrary, the full recognition of the Divine office of history, the full recognition of the Divine gifts of the Sacraments, present Christianity as most rational, most completely answering to the reason of things, to the whole nature of humanity and to the whole nature of man. Whichcote's principles do not require to be modified at the present day, but to be applied more widely. We can easily imagine with what enthusiasm he would have welcomed now "the infinite desire of knowledge which has broken forth in the world," to use the phrase of Patrick;* how he would again have warned us "that it is not possible to free religion from scorn and contempt if her priests be not as well skilled in nature as her people, and her champions furnished with as good artillery as her adversaries;"† how he would have reiterated the burden of his lesson that "there is nothing true in divinity which is false in philosophy, or the contrary;"‡ how he would have called us back from our tithings of cumin to the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith; how he would have constrained us with loving persuasiveness to take account of the proportion of things by the measure of life. With larger knowledge and on an ampler field we are then called upon to exercise his faith, to claim for religion,

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* Phenix, ii. p. 316. † *Id.* p. 317. ‡ *Id. l. c.*

in the name of the Son of Man, all things graceful, beautiful, and lovely;* to show that there is nothing in it but what is sincere and solid, consonant to reason and issuing in freedom.† The one sure evidence of Christianity is, that to which he appealed, the power of the Christian life. If the Gospel were a soul to believers, they would be miraculous in the eyes of the world, and bring all men in to give their testimony for religion.‡

28. One remark must still be added which concerns us in our crisis of transition most nearly. If Whichcote neglected to give due honour to the past, he had that rarer and more elevating faith in the present which is the support of generous effort. "I give much," he writes, in answer to the charge of innovation; "I give much to the Spirit of God breathing in good men with whom I converse in the present world . . . and think that, if I may learn much by the writings of good men in former ages. . . I may learn more by the actings of the Divine Spirit in the minds of good men now alive; and I must not shut my eyes against any manifestations of God in the times in which I live. The times wherein I live are more to me than any else; the works of God in them which I am to discern, direct in me both principle, affection, and action; and I dare not blaspheme

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* i. 59. † iii. 253. ‡ iii. 45; 251.

free and noble spirits in religion who seek after truth with indifference and ingenuity." *

In that confidence lies our strength; in those actings, manifested in many strange ways and in unexpected quarters, lies our guidance. The ages of faith are not yet past. The last word of God has not yet been spoken.

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* Letters, p. 115.

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BORN 1613; DIED 1667.*

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1. The bearings of biography on criticism. Few writers impersonal.—2. Jeremy Taylor and his college contemporaries. John Milton.—3. Cambridge education of that day.—4. His introduction to public life. Laud. All Souls. Uppingham. The Civil War. Retirement in Wales. Lisburn. The Restoration. Bishop of Down and Connor. Domestic trials. Death.—5. Connection of his fortunes with his writings. Leisure. Controversial exigencies. Influence of his circumstances upon his style. Martial images. Exquisite beauty and variety of his references to external nature.—6. "The Shakespeare of English Prose." Transcendent merits of his style. Comparison of Taylor with other eminent divines. Surpassed by Milton alone, and that only in a few passages.—7. Estimate of his defects and weaknesses as a theologian and reasoner.—8. His special merits not theological. 'The Ductor Dubitantium.' Decay of scholastic casuistry.—9. The 'Liberty of Prophesying' the most remarkable defence of Toleration ever written. Taylor defended from the charge of abandoning his principles.—10. He is greatest in his devotional writings. Incomparable merits of his sermons. Their vast superiority to those of the present day. Causes of this. Their immense range of erudition. Their fertility of illustration. Their unexampled opulence of language. Compared with other devotional writings. The influence they have exercised. John Wesley. The present age not likely to produce such a writer as Taylor. The treasures which he has bequeathed to us.

1. THERE are but few men whose works, or whose intellectual position, we can rightly understand,

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* The references to Taylor's works are made to the well-known edition of Bishop Heber, of whose 'Life of Jeremy Taylor,' as well as of the little volume of the late Mr. R. A. Willmott, I have made free use.

unless we know something of the circumstances of their lives. One or two indeed of the world's greatest seem, like Shakspeare, to rise into an impersonal atmosphere, either from the keenness of their sympathies or the intensity of their imagination; and a few others can be understood apart from their biographies, either because their writings, like those of Butler, deal with the abstractions of the pure reason; or because, as in the "Imitatio Christi," all earthly passions seem to die away in that clear air of eternity wherein they live and move. But the lives of most men throw a marvellous light on their writings, and there are some whose writings cannot even be understood at all without some knowledge of their career and of their times.

2. Let us then, with all possible brevity, glance at the biography of Bishop Jeremy Taylor—the most eloquent certainly, if not the greatest, of English preachers; the most popular of English devotional writers; and perhaps the most widely influential, if not by any means the most profound or accurate, of English divines.

The son of a Cambridge barber, but a descendant of the holy martyr, Rowland Taylor of Hadleigh, Jeremy was born at his father's house in the year 1613. As the little boy stood at the shop door, he may often have noticed the stern and gloomy lineaments of an undergraduate of Sidney Sussex College, whose name was Oliver Cromwell, and may have

admired the calmer, and more untroubled face of the Public Orator of the University, who was afterwards "The Country Parson," George Herbert.* In 1626 he entered Caius College as a sizar, and must often have seen—

> "Familiarly, and in his scholar's dress,
> Bounding before him, yet a stripling youth,
> A boy, no better, with his rosy cheeks
> Angelical, keen eye, courageous look,
> And conscious step of purity and pride,"— †

one whose course of life was destined to be utterly opposite to his own; who was fiercely to attack the episcopacy of which he was the able defender, and to justify the execution of the King whose devoted chaplain he became; who was to be elevated by the triumph which sent Taylor to a prison, and ruined by the Restoration which raised him to a mitre; but who, nevertheless, was united to him by the immortal affinities of genius; who shared with him the great combat for religious and intellectual liberty; and who stands alone with him in supremacy of eloquence—the immortal poet of the "Paradise Lost." ‡

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* George Herbert was appointed Public Orator in 1619; Milton entered Christ's College in 1625; Henry More, John Pearson, and Ralph Cudworth matriculated in 1631.

† Wordsworth, 'The Prelude.'

‡ Milton entered at Christ's College in 1625. Taylor never mentioned him, nor he Taylor; but Milton is said to have admired greatly the 'Liberty of Prophesying,' and is believed to allude to him in the lines:

> "Men whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent,
> Would have been held in high esteem with Paul,
> Must now be called and printed heretics
> By shallow Edwards and Scotch what-d'ye-call"—

since in these same lines, 'On

3. It takes many a long year to alter the habits and traditions of education; and though the "Novum Organum" had now been written for six years,* Cambridge was still teaching that narrow and effete scholasticism which Milton, with his usual impassioned sincerity, denounced as a mass of "ragged notions and brabblements," and "an asinine feast of sow thistles and brambles."† But though, for all practical purposes and positive results, such culture must have been to the young intellect of that day a pure waste of time; and though we trace to it not a few of Taylor's weaknesses—his tedious fencing, his prolix minuteness, his subtle and formalising casuistry—yet the stern and patient attention which it demanded was no doubt useful to him as a system of mental gymnastics. It provided him with what a modern poet has called "something craggy on which to break his intellect,"‡

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the New Forces of Conscience,' he expressly names, and with supreme contempt, Samuel Rutherford, who in 1649 published, by way of answer to Taylor, his odious attack on the 'Principle of Toleration.'

* It was published in 1620.

† As regards the Schoolmen, Milton shared the opinion of Luther, who spoke of their system and writings with undisguised contempt. In his 'Defensio Secunda,' after speaking warmly of the humanistic culture of his boyhood, he simply says of Cambridge, "Illic disciplinis atque artibus tradi solitis septennium studui." Mr. Willmott refers to Beaumont's Psyche. Some remarks on the Cambridge studies of that day may be found in Ward's 'Life of Henry More,' pp. 6–10; Masson's 'Life of Milton,' vol. i. See, too, Bacon's instructive remarks on their "unprofitable subtlety and curiosity" ('Advancement of Learning,' book i.).

‡ Lord Byron.

and its aridity was happily relieved and supplemented by the rich enthusiastic classical culture which had been introduced by the Renaissance. These "Literæ Humaniores" must have rescued an imagination which might well have starved by doting upon what Milton calls "immeasurable, innumerable, and therefore unnecessary, and unmerciful volumes,"* and must have furnished the mental refreshment which enabled him to turn without despair to Occam and Estius, Capreolas and Suarez.†

4. Of the details, however, of Taylor's youth and education, nothing is known. He became in due time a Fellow of Caius College, and then came for him that "deep nick in Time's restless wheel" which determined his future. Young as he was, he was appointed by a friend to preach for him at St. Paul's, and he attracted immediate attention. He was throughout life singularly handsome, with long curling hair, and large eyes full of sweetness and expression; and when he stood before his great audience the glow of his rich and marvellous

* Of Reform in England, i.

† See his letter quoted in his 'Life,' by Bishop Heber, p. xc., and the extraordinary list of authors which he recommended to clerical students, in which he mentions Sixtus Senensis, Tena, Laurentius e Villa Vincentio, Hyperius, Martinus Cantapratensis, Arias Montanus, Sanctes Paguine, Catharinus, Flacius Illyricus, Lauretus, and others, without so much as naming Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, Erasmus, or any English divine! (Second Sermon on the Minister's Duty. Works, viii. 520.)

eloquence was enhanced by the beauty of his appearance, and the—

"Gratior et pulcro veniens in corpore virtus."

With his "florid and youthful beauty, and sweet and pleasant air, he seemed," says his friend and successor, Bishop Rust, "like some young angel newly descended from the visions of glory." It was not long before the fame of the youthful preacher reached the ears of Archbishop Laud. Narrow, superstitious, intolerant, obstinate, Laud had yet the high merit of appreciating the promise of genius; and "thinking it more for the advantage of the world that such mighty parts should be afforded better opportunities of study and improvement than a course of constant preaching would allow of," he wisely and kindly saved the young orator from the ruinous snares of a premature popularity. He accordingly made Jeremy Taylor a Fellow of All Souls, and subsequently nominated him his chaplain, and, in the year 1637, induced Bishop Juxon to collate him to the rectory of Uppingham. There he married, and the five years at Uppingham were probably among the happiest of his life. But while he was living in this quiet home, the storm of civil war burst over the unhappy kingdom. In 1640 Laud was sent to the Tower, and in 1642 Taylor published, by the King's command, his first work, the 'Episcopacy Asserted.' Then began years of trial

and wandering. His home was pillaged, his family driven out of doors. Joining the King, who had made him his chaplain, he lived an unsettled life, following the army from place to place. At the siege of Cardigan Castle he was taken prisoner, and when released supported himself for a time by keeping a school at Llanvihangel Aberbythic. "In the great storm," he says, "which dashed the vessel of the Church all in pieces, I was cast on the coast of Wales, and in a little boat thought to have enjoyed that rest and quietness which in England I could not hope for."* It was during this period that he married his second wife, and lived in the lovely neighbourhood of Golden Grove. His seclusion was protected by the noble patronage of Lord and Lady Carbery,† and cheered by the active friendship of the kind-hearted Evelyn. To this retirement was due the leisure which enabled him, in spite of want and poverty, to publish some of his greatest works: 'The Liberty of Prophesying,' 'The Life of Christ,' the 'Sermons,' the 'Treatise on the Real Presence,' and the 'Golden Grove.'

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* Dedication to 'Liberty of Prophesying.'

† The scenery of the neighbourhood is described in Dyer's beautiful but now almost forgotten poem of 'Grongar Hill.' It was the singular good fortune of Lord Carbery to be connected with three very eminent poets. Jeremy Taylor was his friend and guest; his second wife, the Lady Alice Egerton, was the heroine of Milton's 'Comus;' and Butler, the author of 'Hudibras,' was afterwards his private secretary.

In 1658, after various trials and adversities, of which we have only an obscure outline, he accepted a very poor Lectureship at Lisburn in Ireland, which was, however, rendered more tolerable by the friendship of Lord Conway, and the exquisite scenery of Lough Neagh, where an islet is still shown to which he would often retire to pray and meditate. At the Restoration, Taylor, if any man, had a permanent claim to be rewarded by the Royal Family, whom, to the utter ruin of his own fortunes, he had so faithfully served; and whose fall had been consoled and irradiated by the splendour of his genius and eloquence. But while smaller and less worthy men were elevated to the vacant English sees, Charles was content to relegate Taylor to the Bishopric of Down and Connor, to which was afterwards added, on account of his "virtue, wisdom, and industry," the see of Dromore. His declining years were thus doomed to exile among people to whom his style of eloquence was little suited, and to a sphere of labour where his peace was disturbed by the furious obloquy alike of Roman Catholics and Dissenters.*

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* Taylor, though his disposition was eminently sunny and contented (see the exquisitely beautiful passage in 'Holy Living,' ii. § 6), yet felt ill at ease and out of health in Ireland, and more than once expressed a wish to be removed to England. In a letter to Archbishop Sheldon, 1664 ('Life,' p. cxix.), he says of his bishopric: "I find myself thrown into a place of torment;" and he calls his position "an insupportable burden." Letter to Ormonde, 1660 (*ib.* ci.), in which he also says: "It were better

His last days were darkened, too, by domestic trials. His tender heart had been already torn by the loss of several sweet children who died in early years;* but now he was destined to lose two sons in the prime of youth, and both in ways that rendered their deaths unspeakably shocking. The elder fell in a duel; the younger died from the effects of excesses which he had learnt in the dissolute company of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Very shortly afterwards, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the seventh of his episcopate, a fever seized him which, after ten days, "untied the soul from its chain, and let it go forth, first into liberty and then to glory."† So, prematurely, as he had himself prognosticated,‡ ended the life of a man of rare good-

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for me to be a poor curate in a village church than bishop over such intolerable persons."

* Letter to Evelyn, July 19, 1656: "Deare Sir, I am in some little disorder by reason of the death of a little child of mine, a boy that lately made us very glad; but now he rejoices in his little orbe, while we think and sigh and long to be as safe as he is" ('Life,' i. liii.). Feb. 22, 165⅞: "It has pleased God to send the small poxe and feavers among my children; and I have since I received your last buried two sweet hopeful boyes" (*ib.* lxi.). "No man can tell, but he that loves his children, how many delicious accents make a man's heart dance in the pretty conversation of those dear pledges; their childishness, their stammering, their little angers, their innocence, their imperfections, their necessities, are so many little emanations of joy and comfort to him that delights in their person and society; but he that loves not his wife and children feeds a lioness at home, and broods a nest of sorrows."—'The Marriage Ring.'

† 'Holy Dying,' ii. 4.

‡ See letter to Sheldon, written in the fourth year of his episcopate: "I humbly desire that your Grace will not wholly

ness and sweetness, who owed in no small degree to his own virtues his want of brilliant success in earthly fortunes; and who, if we cannot assign to him as the flattering poet assigned to Bishop Berkeley, "every virtue under heaven," was yet eminently noble and unselfish, and presented no less than Berkeley did, "the happiest possible synthesis of the Divine, the scholar, and the gentleman."

5. Even so cursory a glance as this may serve, I hope, to illustrate how entirely it is the hand of God that weaves the pattern which He requires in the web of noble lives; and that even by those dispensations which seem most afflictive He is preparing us, so that we best may do His work, which is and ought to be our own. Throughout every change in Taylor's career we can trace the way in which the Providence that ordained his fortunes added essentially, at every step, to his usefulness and his greatness. The strokes which seemed most pitilessly to gash the quivering reed were but shaping it into the potency of divinest music. It was not only that his character gained strength, and his words grace and variety, from his misfortunes, but one after another his works sprang mainly from the exigencies of his position. 'The

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lay me aside, and cast off all thoughts of removing me. . . . . For the case is so that the country does not agree with my health . . . . and if your Grace be not willing I should die immaturely, I shall still hope you will bring me to or near yourself once more" ('Life,' p. cxix.).

Defence of Episcopacy,' 'The Liberty of Prophesying,' the 'Sermons,' 'The Dissuasive from Popery,' 'The Ductor Dubitantium,' were all evoked by the turbulent conditions which darkened the peace of his days; so that from his temporary afflictions the Church has won a permanent inheritance of thought and learning. In gentler and softer times Taylor might have been reduced to the position of a mere popular preacher, constantly called upon to utilise the crude thoughts, and perpetuate the fleeting impressions of his mind, and condemned to that superficial mediocrity of erudition which is inevitable to one whose plain duties rob him of all leisure for deep study. Had it not been for the undisturbed peace and compulsory retirement of Golden Grove and Portmore, he might have lacked the opportunities which alone rendered possible his greatest intellectual efforts. Even his immortal Sermons gained, from his varied surroundings, no little of that rich imagery which embroiders their cloth of gold. Thus, to his terrible experiences of the battle field* we owe, among many others, the image of the bold trooper, fighting in the confusion of a battle, and being worn with heat and rage, receiving from the sword of his enemy wounds open like the grave, but he felt them not;† and of the

* This was first noticed by Mr. Willmott ('Jeremy Taylor,' p. lii.).

† 'Apples of Sodom,' Works, v. 293.

poor soldier in a trench, standing in his arms and wounds, pale and faint, weary and watchful, and at night having a bullet pulled out of his flesh, and shivers from his bones, and enduring his mouth to be sewn up from a horrible rent to his own dimensions.* And it is to the umbrageous woods and gardens which girdled the mansion of Lord Carbery that we owe the pictures of the "faint echoes from distant valleys;" "the fountain swelling over the green turf;" "the gentle wind shaking the leaves into a refreshment and cooling shade;" "the little bee, feeding on dew or manna, and living upon what falls every morning from the storehouse of heaven, clouds, and Providence;" "the rainbow, half made of the glory of light, and half of the moisture of a cloud;" "the breath of heaven, not willing to disturb the softest stalk of a violet;" "the boisterous north wind, passing through the yielding air, but when it hath been checked with the united strength of a wood, growing mighty, and dwelling there, and forcing the highest branches to stoop and make a path for it, on the summit of all its glories." Taylor was one of those few immortal spirits in whom a massive erudition has not crushed an exquisite feeling for the sights and sounds of nature. What can be happier

* 'Holy Dying,' iii. 4. This terribly vivid illustration is obviously due to personal experience.

than his description of "the sun approaching towards the gates of the morning, first opening a little eye of heaven, and sending away the spirits of darkness, and giving light to a cock, and calling up the lark to matins, and by and by gilding the fringes of a cloud, peeping over the Eastern hills, thrusting out his golden horns like those which decked the brows of Moses, when he was forced to wear a veil, because himself had seen the face of God"? What wealth of fancy; what poetry of expression! After reading such a passage as this, who will dispute his pre-eminence of supremacy in the mastery of the English tongue? Take two of his best known and loveliest passages: "For so have I seen a lark rising from his bed of grass, and soaring upwards, singing as he rises, and hopes to get to heaven, and climbs above the clouds; but the poor bird was beaten back by the loud sighings of an eastern wind, and his motion made irregular and inconstant, descending more at every breath of the tempest than it could recover by the libration and frequent weighing of its wings, till the little creature sat down to pant and stay till the storm was over; and then it made a prosperous flight, and did rise and sing as if it had learnt music from an angel, as he passed sometimes through the air about his ministering here below;—so is the prayer of a good man." *

* Second Sermon on the "Return of Prayers."

Did English prose ever combine a more playful grace with a more lyric tenderness? And when speaking of the change wrought by death, he says: "So have I seen a rose newly springing from the clefts of its hood, and at first it was fair as the morning, and full with the dew of heaven as a lamb's fleece; but, when a ruder breath had forced open its virgin modesty, and dismantled its too youthful, and unripe retirements, it began to put on darkness, and decline to softness and the symptoms of a sickly age; it bowed the head and broke its stalk, and at night having lost some of its leaves, and all its beauty, it fell into the portion of weeds and outworn faces."* What solemn music, what delicate painting, what unrivalled aptitude of expression! Has there been any preacher before or since who could equal these incidental metaphors? Is there any living preacher who could write three lines which could compare to any one of them? Yet these were mainly due to that delicious country life in which ambition seemed over, and since the poet preacher's days were being spent face to face with Eternity, in homes where he could see the flowers blow, and the dew fall, his soul, undevastated by meaner cares, could "climb by these sunbeams to the Father of Lights."

6. And these passages are alone sufficient to show

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* 'Holy Dying,' i. § 2.

why an English poet* has rightly called Jeremy Taylor "the Shakspeare of English prose." No language can be too warm for that wealth and beauty of style which constitutes perhaps his chief claim to our admiration, and which a living writer has compared to "a deeply murmuring sea with the sunlight on it."† It transcends criticism. It is indeed easy to point out the multitudinousness and confusion of images; the occasional introduction of mean expressions;‡ the interchange with the beautiful of what is loathly and grotesque:§ but, not to say that this is sometimes but the perfect skill of the musician "falling from concord or sweet accord to discord or harsh accord,"‖ the total effect is simply inimitable, and we feel that we are in contact with a mind that creates the laws of its own expression, and beautifies even what is irregular and in itself objectionable, by stamping it with the sovran impress of its own individuality. It is quite easy to understand the havoc which ignorant, vulgar, and conceited critics, who profess to lay down the

* Mason, in a letter to Gray.

† Lecky, 'History of Toleration.'

‡ It should, however, be noticed that an expression may sound mean now which was not always so. Willmott ('Jeremy Taylor,' p. 233) censures: "We shall dishonour the sufferings of our blessed Saviour if we think them to be an *umbrella* to shelter impious and ungodly living" ('The Invalidity of a Deathbed Repentance," pt. ii. *ad fin.*). But the word would not convey to Taylor so vulgar a notion as to us.

§ See some remarks in Taine's 'English Literature,' i. 384.

‖ Bacon.

universal laws of literature, would make of such reckless autocrats of language as Taylor and Shakspeare; and yet their very faults become almost admirable because they are characteristic of themselves. It is quite true that Jeremy Taylor has not the rude force of Latimer, the immense erudition of Ussher, the balanced stateliness and perfect equilibrium of Hooker, the flashing wit of South, the occasional intensity of Donne, the careful accuracy of Pearson, the compressed forcefulness of Barrow, the metaphysical profundity of Butler, the tender unction of Wilson, the polished equanimity of Tillotson,—and, after these, but few others are at all worth mentioning; but, as in unfeigned piety and blameless purity of life he stands their equal, so in the combination of genius with eloquence he towers above the greatest of them all. In the fine expression of Bishop Warburton he darts into all their excellences a ray of lightning. And again, if he has not the characteristic merit of each of these, he is equally free from their characteristic defects; he has none of Latimer's indecorum, or of South's vulgarity, or Donne's tediousness, or Butler's aridity, or Tillotson's coldness, or Wilson's commonplace. In English prose he has but one rival in John Milton. But though not even Taylor can equal the prose of Milton, when he "has his garland and singing robes about him," yet it is only now and then, at impassioned moments, that the poet puts

on the glory which is the preacher's daily wear; and it was by no means the least acute, or qualified of English critics, who said of Jeremy Taylor, "The most eloquent of divines, I had almost said of men; and if I had, Demosthenes would nod approval and Cicero express assent."*

7. I have dwelt thus at length on the great Bishop's style, because it is his style which differentiates him from all who have preceded or followed him; but as it is the object of these Lectures to sketch the place in English literature and theology of the great men with whom they are occupied, and not, by any means, to deal in indiscriminate eulogy, I will now acknowledge frankly, but with due respect and submission, the defects and weakness of this eminent prelate, whom it is impossible to read without learning also to honour and to love.

I will say then at once, that it is *not* as a theologian, in the more narrow and technical sense of the word, that Taylor is greatest. Some may set this down to the account of his wisdom; and frequently as he wrote on dogma, yet the absence of *precision* is in accordance with his own express views.† On any question of rigid dogmatic theology his name would carry less weight than those of Jewell, Hooker, Sanderson, Andrewes, Bull, or Water-

* Coleridge.

† "No man should fool himself by disputing about the philosophy of justification, and what causality faith hath in it," &c. ('Works,' i. ccxxviii.).

land. The rigid scrupulosity of precisely accurate reasoning and definition, for which we look to a theologian proper, is hardly consistent with the passion of the poetic orator, and the zeal of the voluminous controversialist. That Taylor is sometimes guilty of inconsistencies cannot be denied;* nor that his conclusions are often superior to the reasoning by which he supports them;† nor that he occasionally resorts to arguments of which he elsewhere exposes the weakness;‡ nor that he sometimes relies on a mere illustration as though it had all the cogency of a proof;§ nor that he sometimes "overlooks the intrusion of ragged lacqueys among his grand procession of magnates in all their splendid paraphernalia;" ‖ nor that he, now and then, seems to indulge in a subtlety which might almost be termed

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* Compare his remarks on Baptism, in 'Liberty of Prophesying,' and in his 'Discourse of Confirmation;' "Works," v. 90, 438, *et passim*.

† See, for instance, the untenable arguments by which he tries to prove the Divine origin of Confirmation.

‡ See his treatise on Episcopacy, § 48, where he draws a distinction between things which Bishops may not do as Bishops, and may do as secular princes—a disintegration of individuality which he elsewhere utterly rejects. This is less surprising because it is one of the defects of the 'Ductor Dubitantium' that, misled by Romish casuists, he admits the use in controversy of arguments known to be weak, to an extent which Milton, for instance, would have scorned. ('Works,' ix. 93, *seq.*; Coleridge's 'Notes on English Divines,' p. 175; Hallam's 'Literature of Europe,' iii. 268.

§ See 'Apology for Liturgies,' Pref. § 6.

‖ See Coleridge's 'Notes on English Divines,' i. 195.

Jesuitical;* nor that he is in some instances uncritical in the use of authorities,† and eminently credulous in the admission of facts and anecdotes;‡ nor that, with all the just estimate which Daillé had taught him of the contradictions and defects of the Fathers, he yet often allows himself to be unduly overshadowed by their mere assertions;§ nor that he is sometimes misled by the impetuosity of

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* Instances will be found in his controversial works *passim*.

† See Heber's 'Life,' p. cxxvii.

‡ See 'Works,' ii. 18; iii. 241; v. 292, &c.

§ But, as in so many instances, his language on the untrustworthiness of the actual text of the Fathers is unguarded and exaggerated ('Liberty of Prophesying,' § viii. 4; 'Works,' v. 489). Readily as he sets them aside as authorities in matters of controversy, he yet elsewhere quotes their barest assertions with absolute credulity, and does not seem to see that the giants of the Reformation were, if "not inferior to St. Augustine," as Coleridge says, yet surely "worth a brigade of the Cyprians, Firmilians, and the like." And yet Taylor quotes Cyprian quite incessantly, and Luther, I believe, not once. Certainly his arguments against the authority of the Fathers are hardly consistent with his professed desire that "their great reputation should be preserved as sacred as it ought." How different is this from the daring remarks of Milton on the same subject: "Redeo ad patrum commentationes, de quibus hoc summatim accipe. Quicquid illi dixerint, neque ex libris sacris, aut ratione aliquâ satis idoneâ confirmaverunt, *perinde mihi erit ac si quis alius e vulgo dixisset*" ('Def.' cap. 4; Of 'True Religion,' *ad init.*; 'Of Reform in England,' *passim*). It is in this manly and dauntless forthrightness that Milton towers so high above Taylor. But Hallam has acutely pointed out that Taylor's literary method was not to soften anything which he had once said, but to remove offence by "inserting something else of an opposite colour" ('Literature of Europe,' ii. 848). This unfortunate method naturally detracts from the weight of his isolated sentiments.

polemic into confessedly untenable positions;* nor that for these reasons there are vulnerable joints in the golden panoply of his eloquence; nor that he is far from successful in dealing with subtle metaphysical distinctions; nor that he sometimes played about the surface of a subject without going to the very heart of it; nor that his grasp of fundamental principles is often defective;† nor even, which is the most serious blot of all, that it is difficult to acquit some of his views of technical heresy—difficult at any rate to acquit parts of his "Unum Necessarium" and "Letter on Original Sin," of Pelagianism, or to reconcile them with the undoubted doctrines of the Christian Church. Some of these defects are due to the fact that he, like other great thinkers, was entangled in the very spirit of system

* See his 'Treatise of Episcopacy,' in which the facts upon which he builds are historically untenable, and the importance which he attaches to the office is exaggerated (see 'Life,' clxxxiii). In both respects he contrasts unfavourably with Hooker in his dealings with the same subject (Eccl. Pol. iii. 3).

† Taylor's views of original sin and of the unfruitfulness of deathbed repentance are among his least satisfactory contributions to theology. The former are due to a violent reaction against Calvinism, but he did not seem to see that his own scheme did but shift the difficulty, without in the smallest degree removing it. See the admirable criticism of his views in Coleridge's 'Aids to Reflection.' The notion of Adam's original paradisiacal perfection is a Rabbinic fiction, which he shared with South and many other eminent divines, and which survives to our own day in some writers. Even Heber pronounces his doctrine of original sin to be "neither good logic nor good divinity."

of which he saw the peril; and that driven into the necessities of conflict on minute and mysterious distinctions of dogma, he became in some degree illogical by trying to map out, in the forms of the Understanding, truths that can only be apprehended by the Reason; and sometimes verbally, though not essentially heretical by attempting "to soar into the secrets of the Deity on the waxen wings of the senses."* He might have been more accurate as a theologian if he had been less supremely gifted as a poet and as an orator, and less keenly sympathetic and appreciative as a man. "In fact he would have been too great for man," says Coleridge, "if he had not occasionally fallen below himself." And indeed many of these weaknesses were the inseparable concomitants of some of his best sources of strength—the prodigious agility of his intellect, the vivid power of his imagination, the exceeding keenness of his sensibility, the boundless wealth of his erudition, the multifarious variety of his reading—above all, that oceanic tide of his lan-

* Bacon. It would be quite easy to quote isolated sentences of apparently the most opposite tendency from his remarks on the Two Sacraments. We must, in fact, in quoting his authority, consider always whether he is speaking as a controversialist, or as a rhetorician, or as a careful and orthodox divine. We must also bear in mind the *date* of the work from which we quote. It was inevitable that a mind so susceptible as Taylor's should be modified by its surroundings, and to this is due the increased tendency to give prominence to High Church doctrines which is observable in his later works.

guage, in which "words that convey feeling, and words that flash images, and words that express notions, flow together and whirl, and rush onward like a stream at once rapid and full of eddies"*—a stream which here and there has "islets of smooth water" reflecting all that is lovely in earth and sky, but which must inevitably sweep some impurities upon its surface, and in which there must sometimes be shallow backwaters, and stains of discoloration from the many soils through which it flows.†

8. But, for these reasons, it is not in his theological treatises, dazzling as is their eloquence and amazing as is their ingenuity, that Taylor is seen at his best.‡ His true position, his immortal sig-

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* Coleridge's 'Apologetic Preface to Fire, Famine, and Slaughter.' Elsewhere ('Notes on English Divines,' i. 203) he talks of the "costly gems that glitter, loosely set, on the chain armour of his polemic Pegasus, that expands his wings chiefly to fly off from the field of battle, the stroke of whose hoof the very rock cannot resist, but beneath the stroke of which the opening rock sends forth a Hippocrene."

† As specimens of the incautious breadth of statement into which he is led by his power of language and ardour of controversy, we may notice his exaggerated views of the uncertainty of the meaning of Scripture in the 'Liberty of Prophesying;' and the extravagant importance which he attached to confirmation ('Disc. of Confirm.'). In both instances he carries a true principle much too far.

‡ I may be thought guilty of some temerity in the above passage by those who have read the remarks of the late Bishop Thirlwall ('Remains,' ii. 352), in which he seems to repudiate the admission of such defects as I have mentioned. Yet I can hardly think that the great Bishop would have been able to deny the possibility of a fair justification of all that I have noticed, and most certainly he would not involve me in the

nificance for the history of the Church of God, does not lie in his voluminous controversies, but in his glorious eloquence and holy devotion. For the subtler technicalities of school divinity he had, in spite of his Cambridge training, no liking and no speciality.* He felt a perfectly justifiable impatience for what Milton calls "the subdichotomies of petty schisms." He had indeed read the best authorities about them, but he had read them with no intense concentration, and by no means passes them through the alembic of his own understanding. His 'Liberty of Prophesying,' and 'Dissuasive against Popery,' show how extremely small was the value which he set upon the esoteric arcana of scholastic dogma; how thoroughly convinced he was (though he sometimes swerved from his own convictions) that in spite of thousands of treatises on these subjects, "all that is solid religion, or clear revelation about angels, about the immaculate con-

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charge of "wantonly assailing the illustrious dead."

* "The way to judge of religion is by doing our duty; and theology is rather a Divine life than a Divine knowledge" (Sermon before the University of Dublin, and 'Liberty of Prophesying,' *passim*). In more than one passage he speaks with almost angry contempt of all endeavours to frame a systematic philosophy out of the "scheme of salvation" (see 'Works,' vi. 271). At the same time there is vast exaggeration in Mr. Hunt's remark that "there are but few doctrines in which Taylor's views would not exclude him from the common pale of the orthodox in the judgment of the majority of Christians, of whatever sect or party" ('Religious Thought in England,' i. 334).

ception, about original sin, could be compressed in forty lines;"* how sincere was his advice to his clergy to make every day a rosary or chaplet of good works, to be presented to God at night, but to "speak very little of the high and secret things of God"! It is not by his purely theological writings that he is best known, or because of them that he is most valued; and indeed it was the wise habit of his mind "to convert doctrines into homilies, and speculations into prayers." But he never could write otherwise than well, and even the least accurate of his theological treatises is yet of value for its digressions, its learning, its fancy, its imagery, its tenderness, its insight. These are to be found even in that great work, which, of all others, he most carefully revised, and on which he spent most time, because he rested on it his hope of fame with posterity—although, in reality, posterity cares less about it than about any of his other writings—I mean the 'Ductor Dubitantium.'† This book of casuistry was the direct fruit of his training in scholastic methods and mediæval theology; and the reason why it is now neglected is because casuistry is but the Talmudism of Christianity, and ceases to be valued when the robust conscience, trained to personal communion with God, and feel-

* Ep. Ded. to 'Liberty of Prophesying.'

† See, for instance the incomparable chapter on the Christian Evidences ('Works,' ix. 158, *seqq.*)

ing itself quite strong enough to walk alone, rejects the interferences of auricular confession. In spite of many redeeming excellences, and especially the introductory chapters which occupy the first book 'On Conscience,' the 'Ductor Dubitantium' exhibits Taylor's worst defects of prolixity, dubious admissions, questionable opinions, haste and indistinctness, want of depth and accuracy, and accumulation of authorities and quotations in lieu of a close grapple with principles.* Indeed, with this elaborate treatise the science of casuistry, in its

* In spite of many merits, a moral treatise must stand condemned, as founded on indistinct and inadequate premisses, which practically admits, as the 'Ductor Dubitantium' does, that what is morally wrong may be politically right: which sanctions the use of arguments known to be untenable (ix. 95); which allows the affrighting of children and fools with mormos and bugbears (ix. 101); which says (x. 304) that the unlawful proclamations of a true prince may be published by the clergy, &c. It is grievous to think that time-servers like Sprat would have been able to shelter themselves behind his splendid authority in 1687. In fact, as the 'Ductor Dubitantium' had its main origin in the condition of things created by a dangerous and evil sacerdotalism, so whole sections of it (see x. 101–140) have (I fear it must be said) a perceptibly jesuitical taint—due, I am confident, not to Taylor's nature, but to the over-importance which he attached to the endless and injurious cobweb-spinnings of Romish and other casuists. He says, in his 'Clerus Domini' ('Works,' i. 21), "I believe there are not so little as 5000 cases (of conscience) started up among the casuists, and for aught I know there may be five thousand times five thousand." I cannot at all accept the eulogy which pronounced the 'Ductor Dubitantium' to be "the greatest book on Moral Philosophy produced by the English Church" (Hunt, 'Religious Thought in England'); and even Dean Milman's estimate of it ('Annals of St. Paul's,' p. 344) seems too favourable.

scholastic aspects, and with its economic managements and accommodations of truth, may be said to have died a natural death. The eloquence of Taylor was the rich and illuminated colophon at the bottom of a dreary and little profitable page. In the next work which touched upon the subject, namely, 'Cumberland's Treatise on the Laws of Nature,' "we find ourselves," says Hallam, "in a new world of moral reasoning; schoolmen and Fathers, canonists and casuists, have vanished like ghosts at the first daylight." *

9. Among the theologic teachings of Taylor must, however, be classed that magnificent appeal to Christian charity, the immortal 'Liberty of Prophesying.' Had he never written any other book, the Church of God would have owed him a debt that can never be repaid. It achieved for the cause of toleration what Milton's splendid 'Areopagitica' did for the "Liberty of Unlicensed Printing." It was published ten years after,† and was no doubt more or less directly influenced by, Chillingworth's 'Religion of Protestants;' but though Taylor would have exulted in Chillingworth's passionate exclamation, "Take away this persecuting, burning,

* Hallam's 'Literature of Europe,' iii. 400. His remarks on p. 392 are severe, but not so severe as to be unjust.

† 'The Religion of Protestants' appeared in 1637; 'Hales on Schism,' in 1642; 'Liberty of Prophesying,' in 1647; Stillingfleet's 'Irenicum' (a far inferior performance), and Milton on 'Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes,' in 1659.

cursing, damning of men for not subscribing the words of men as the words of God,"* he deals, far more closely than either Chillingworth or Hales has done, with the then-novel subject of religious toleration,† and his is the greatest work on this immensely important topic ever written by an ordained member of the Christian Church. Nor do I see any reason to doubt his own express statement, which some writers have so rudely set aside, that it was one of his aims to secure freedom of thought, and therefore of worship, for the Church of England; and that, as against the Presbyterians, he

* 'Religion of Protestants,' iv. § 17.

† That Taylor was not unacquainted with the writings of "the ever-memorable Hales" appears from his borrowing the legend of the gnomes mentioned by Agricola ('Works,' viii. 526). And when he calls the term heresy a mere *terriculamentum*, he may have remembered that Hales called heresy and schism, "theological scarecrows." (Hales' 'Remains,' Works, vi. 516. See Tulloch's 'Rational Theology in England,' i. 372–416.) Erasmus too, though not quoted in the 'Liberty of Prophesying,' had yet distinctly formulated its main principle. "Summa nostræ religionis pax est et unanimitas. Ea vix constare poterit nisi de quam paucissimis definiamus, et in multis relinquamus suum cuique judicium" (Opp. Ed. Bas., p. 1162). It does not seem to have been Taylor's way to refer frequently to modern writers. He does indeed quote Hooker not unfrequently, and always in terms of warm admiration; but though he had evidently read the discourses of John Smith, the Cambridge Platonist ('Works,' viii. 374–379), and Henry Smith, "the silver-tongued," yet he does not mention them by name. It is strange, too, that he never once refers to Spenser, of whom Milton so boldly said, "Whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus and Aquinas" ('Areopagitica').

found a favourable opportunity for doing so in the rise of the Independents.* Nor is it quite fair to say, as even some of his warmest admirers have done, that in the hour of his Church's triumph—an expression, indeed, which hardly represents the state of Ireland in 1660 and the following years—he abandoned the views which he had advocated with such courageous force. It is true that in his later years his charity and toleration were very sorely tried; and in his 'Via Intelligentiæ,' a famous sermon preached before the University of Dublin in 1662, and still more in that preached at the opening of the Irish Parliament in 1661, he modifies rather than retracts his earlier principles.† The needle might sometimes quiver and

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* Hallam, 'Literature of Europe,' ii. 353, accuses Taylor of "some want of ingenuousness" in Taylor's assertion, in the dedication of this work, that he wrote the book to plead for liberty of conscience on behalf of the Church of England in time of persecution; and it is quite true that the class of controversies with which Taylor is mainly dealing is not that which arose between the Episcopal Church and her enemies; but Taylor might well answer that if toleration were an admitted principle in the cases which he directly argued, it would apply *à fortiori* to the claims of the Church.

† 'Works,' viii. 367. The remarks of Coleridge ('Notes on English Divines,' i. 209) are unwarrantably harsh. The supposed inconsistency has been, to say the least, grossly exaggerated. Without further evidence I simply disbelieve the story of his buying up and burning as many copies of the book as he could get. The second edition was published while he was Bishop (Heber's 'Life,' p. xxxiii.); and in his 'Dissuasive from Popery,' published as late as 1667, he reiterates substantially the same views.

be deflected, but, on the whole, it pointed true. And the slight occasional deflection is no more than we should have naturally expected in one who, though eminently virtuous, was yet eminently many-sided in intellect and flexible in disposition, and who in all his controversies was so intensely susceptible to the influences of the moment, as to be swayed almost as powerfully by his feelings as by his understanding. Nor must it be forgotten that, if he seems to appeal to civil authority in matters of opinion, he was living in a position where his very life was in constant danger, and where his peace was destroyed by incessant and virulent attacks. But that, in his fundamental position, he was as dauntless and sincere, as in personal conduct he was conciliatory, courageous, and charitable; that he did hold most firmly to the last that heresy is not a mere "error in intellectu" but a "contumacia in voluntate"—"an act of the will," as Hales says, "not of the reason"—a wicked opinion, not a mere speculative mistake; that the name "heretic" is often a mere *terriculamentum* to frighten people from their belief; that half the questions which have agitated and divided Churches are as superfluous as the mutual hatreds which they have engendered have been reprehensible; that the Apostles' Creed is for Christendom the sole necessary basis of unity, and that nothing beyond it ought to be required of others as a necessity of faith; that it is wrong to

make the way to Heaven narrower than God has made it; and that if God will not be angry with men for being invincibly deceived, neither ought men to be angry with each other—this, I think, is demonstrable from his latest writings. It is little short of a grave injustice to doubt that Jeremy Taylor, in spite of a few vacillating expressions due to his habit of realising both sides of an argument, did embrace these truths with all the sincerity of his heart as he had defended them with all the splendour of his intellect.* And would to God that the Church realised them as fully and deeply now, as assuredly she ever needs the lesson! Since the want of a heartfelt charity has ever been a fatal source of weakness and disunion; since few of us are proficients in the unselfishness which can respect the position of an opponent, and the candour which can admit that not one of us has a monopoly of truth; since few of us display the love which can forgive even a difference of opinion; it is certain that the "Liberty of Prophesying," though its concession of civil toleration is less complete than experience has shown to be desirable, will always be regarded as a

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* How terribly Taylor's toleration was tried may be seen from his letters. The Presbyterians of his diocese "appointed a committee of Scotch spiders, to see if they can gather or make poison out of his books," "threatened to murder him," "discharged against him all their ordnance of bitter words and horrid threatenings," "slandered him," &c., &c. ('Life,' ciii.).

book which rendered a courageous and immortal service to the Church of God.*

10. Nevertheless, it is when Jeremy Taylor leaves altogether the regions of scholasticism, controversy, and rigid dogma; when he is appealing directly to the imagination and to the religious emotion; "when he escapes into the devotional, as into a green meadowland with springs and rivulets and sheltering groves, where he leads his flock like a shepherd,"† that he is most incomparably great. It is when he is writing on the duties of a holy life —in his prayers, his sermons, his 'Golden Grove,' his 'Holy Living and Dying,' his 'Life of Christ,' that his lips are touched, as it were, by the seraphim with coals of fire from the altar; and that his very faults, or what to the pedantries of formal criticism might be so regarded, become like merits and glories because they become parts of his dear and inimitable self.‡ His imperfections, then, make

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* Taylor must have known that it would be distasteful to the bigots of his party, and I can easily believe that a book which Milton must have ardently admired would be disliked and all but disavowed by Charles I. See Heber's 'Life,' p. cclxii., quoting from Sir P. Warwick's 'Memoirs' his account of an interview with the king. Space forbids me to give any sketch or analysis of the contents of this great work, which, however, may be found in Mr. Hunt's 'Religious Thought in England,' i. 334-341; and Principal Tulloch's 'Rational Theology.'

† Coleridge's 'Notes on English Divines,' p. 256.

‡ "I shall not be ashamed to say that I am weary and toiled in rowing up and down the seas of questions which the interests

us feel for him a sort of human love, which we could not feel for a writer of cold regularity, faultless nullity, or colourless perfection. And these are evidently the writings in which, to adopt his own beautiful language, he can "slide towards his ocean of God and infinity with a certain and silent motion;"* and in which, as Milton also loved to do, he can contemplate the bright countenance of truth in the mild and dewy air of delightful studies, so that in these he is most happy and most at home. Take, for instance, his Sermons.† We in this age of hurry, excitement, pressure, fuss; we whose bells are incessantly ringing; whose leisure is never sacred from the most frivolous interruptions; whose sympathies are constantly upon the strain; who are harassed by the immense multiplicity of social and charitable organisations; we who, in consequence, are but the "pickers-up of Learning's crumbs;" we who, in the Church of the present day, can hardly count five profoundly learned men; stand incapably amazed before the sermons of the 17th century, in their inexhaustible knowledge, their prodigious fertility, their "*lactea ubertas.*" An ordinary sermon of the

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of Christendom have commenced" (Dedication to 'Great Exemplar').

* Sermon on the death of Lady Carbery.

† It is somewhat singular that his Sermons contain so few specific allusions to special feasts and fasts, when we read his Rule lxi. of his 'Rules and Advices to the Clergy.'

present day, compared in point of splendour, variety, and erudition, with a sermon of Jeremy Taylor's, is like a squalid brick Bethesda in some poverty-stricken Dissenting village in comparison with the high-embowed roofs and storied windows of a Gothic cathedral. What a range of reading—Hebraic, Hellenic, theological, literary—we encounter in these discourses at Golden Grove! The historians, the philosophers, the orators of Greece; the poets, the satirists, the epigrammatists of Rome; the Greek Fathers, the Latin Fathers, the schoolmen, the casuists, the scholars; the Italian poets; the classicists of the Renaissance; French romances, Arabic legends; this μυριόνους ἀνὴρ seems to be familiar with them all! And what wealth of illustration! Persian kings glittering among the satraps of Asia; Roman banquets; Chian wines in purest crystal; Lamiæ that turn to serpents; Libyan lions; Pannonian bears; stags whose knees are frozen in icy streams; statues decapitated to make room for other heads; "poor Attilius Aviola" (as though every one knew all about him); the "condited bellies of the Scarus;" "drinking of healths by the numeral letters of Philenium's name;" the golden and alabaster houses of Egyptian Thebes; the quaint, the pedantic, the imaginative, the marvellous, the grotesque;—these alternate with exquisitely natural images derived from the green fields, and the violet, and the thrush's song. In one single passage, speaking

of superstition, he refers to Diomedon and the Battle of Arginusæ, to Chabrias, to the Gregorian Calendar, to the death of Aristodemus, to the eclipse that frightened Nicias, to the sweating statues of Rome, to the mass at Rheims during which Pope Eugenius spilled a few drops out of the chalice, and the mass of requiem sung by Thomas à Becket on the day of his reconciliation with Henry II.* In another passage, to show us that fathers are often unfortunate in their children, he refers in a breath to Chabrias, Germanicus, M. Aurelius, Hortensius, Q. Fab. Maximus, Scipio Africanus, Moses, and Samuel; and in yet another he illustrates frivolity of occupation by Domitian catching flies; Nero fiddling; Aeropus, King of Macedonia, making lanterns; Harcatius, King of Parthia, catching moles; Biantes, King of Lydia, filing needles; and the patriarch Theophylact spending his time in a stable of horses.† Call these sermons Asiatic,‡ Rhodian, cumbrous, pedantic, discursive, if you will: let every puny critic take their measure with his yard wand, and fathom their ocean with his tape,—the fact remains that in this and all other languages they continue to be, in their own class, unparalleled. Let us even admit that he is sometimes borne away by the impetuosity of his own rhetoric, and mistakes the amplifications of fancy for the approximation to

* 'Sermon of Godly Fear,' pt. iii. † 'Holy Living,' i. 9.
‡ Hallam's 'Literature of Europe,' ii. 360.

truth;—let us, for instance, admit with Coleridge * that he could never have paused to realise what was meant by the Tartarean drench in which, in his 'Second Sermon on the Advent to Judgment,' † he drowns his page; and that the agglomeration of horrible torments in which he revels are but, in reality, "mere bubbles, and flashes, and electrical apparitions from the magic caldron of a fervid and ebullient fancy, constantly fuelled by an unexampled opulence of language;"—still, as a preacher, as a devotional writer, none—not even Bishop Hall, not even Bishop Andrewes, not even Archbishop Leighton, not even Bishop Wilson—at all equal him. Only the 'Theologia Germanica,' the 'Imitatio Christi,' and the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' can compare with his 'Holy Living and Dying,' in the wide influence which they have exercised; and while this treatise equals them in sweetness and unction, in pathos and devotion, it far transcends them in eloquence, imaginativeness and erudition. Nor must we forget that it may reach some who feel that even in the 'Imitatio Christi' there is a lack of some elements which they require, and the presence of some which they could gladly relinquish.

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* Apologetic Preface. Happily the frightful passage on hell torments, quoted by Dr. Newman, and after him by Mr. Lecky and Mr. MacColl, is from the 'Considerations on the state of Man,' spuriously assigned to Taylor, and really compiled from a Spanish book (see Eden's note to Heber's 'Life,' p. vii.

† Works, iv. 39, 42.

When John Wesley had laid aside the exquisite manual of the Mediæval Mystic because it failed to give him perfect satisfaction, it was the 'Holy Living and Dying' which he took up; and when he had read the chapter on "Purity of Intention," "instantly," he says, "I resolved to dedicate all my life to God, all my thoughts, and words, and actions; being thoroughly convinced that there was no medium, but that every part of life must either be a sacrifice to God or myself." And who can estimate the fruits of Taylor's influence, even had he achieved nothing more than to kindle for the Church of Christ that mighty breath of reviving inspiration which is symbolised by the name of John Wesley? Although I have freely pointed out the defects observable in the writings of this beloved bishop—the true son of the English Church at one of its stormiest epochs—yet I doubt whether we shall not as soon see another Shakspeare as another Jeremy Taylor. To the acquisition of a learning such as his, this age—hard, exacting, jealous; without concentration, without self-recollection, without leisure, utilitarian; mistaking a superficial activity and a worrying multiplicity of details for true deep progress; quite content with vapid shibboleths, archaic ritualism, or emotional emptiness; jealous of a labour which, because it is retired, is mistaken for idleness, and robbing every one whom it can of all means for the exhaustive pursuit of learning—is

wholly unfavourable. Two hundred years have passed since the publication of the 'Liberty of Prophesying,' and we are still quarrelling about copes and chasubles, and making it a matter of importance whether the Sacramental bread should be cut round or square. When men are absorbed in such controversies, and in the grinding littlenesses of endless and elaborate agencies, often wholly disproportionate in number, and in the toil they involve, to any possible good which they can achieve, there is little possibility of a learned clergy —there is indeed a fatal certainty that such will not be produced. Let us be, at any rate, thankful for an heritage which, in all probability, will never be renewed; let us profit by the holy writings, let us do homage to the great and honoured name, of this eloquent master in Israel; and if we be sometimes troubled with sad apprehensions that God is removing the candlestick of our Church—"for why should He not, when men themselves put the light out, and pull the stars from their orbs, so hastening the day of judgment?"—let us remember that He "deigned to put a portion of the holy fire into a repository which might help to rekindle the incense, when it shall please God religion shall return, and all his servants shall sing, '*In convertendo captivitatem Sion*' with a voice of Eucharist."*

* Dedication to 'The Great Exemplar.'

JOHN PEARSON.

Different classes of theologians—Pearson's Life—Systematic theology—Scholasticism; effect of the Renaissance upon it, and Pearson's relation to it—His advice to students of theology, and statement of his own position—His opinion of the Reformed Churches—Judgment on Descartes—Love of fixed principles and methods—Exposition of the Creed—Vindiciæ Epistolarum S. Ignatii—Other works—Conclusion.

In all the variety which theology presents, we may recognise, I think, four main divisions. There are great original thinkers, who have brought into prominence at a critical time some great and fertile truth, which has had a large share in moulding the views of succeeding generations. Of this class are, in our own Church, Hooker and Butler. Then, again, there are men who, without being exactly original, have cast about the common truths of our most holy faith the undying lustre of genius; who have culled from all fields of science and learning flowers with which to decorate the shrine of Christ. Such men were Jeremy Taylor and Barrow. Then there is, again, a third class—that of those who have successfully systematised the mass of theology existing in their time; and yet, again, a fourth, less showy, but certainly not less useful, than any of the rest—that of the scholars who devote themselves to theo-

logy; who give to the Sacred Scriptures, and to the other records of the ancient Church, the same care, the same accuracy, the same cultivated discernment, by which many have won fame in other fields. This class is, I say, certainly not less important than any other; for the Church is a society having a continuous history and continuous records; our knowledge of the history depends upon the records. If we accept false records for true, or interpret true records falsely, our conceptions of the Church are marred and distorted. Few things strike us more in the history of the Middle Ages than the mischief done by the absence of criticism and exegesis, whether in relation to the Scriptures or to other documents recognised as authorities; almost any text of any ancient book was held sufficient to defend an established usage. If it had then been known, as it is now, that the supposed Decretals of early Popes were forgeries, many controversies would have been much simplified and shortened. It was one of the tasks of the seventeenth century to apply a remedy to this state of things; the records were examined; men began to apply to Christian literature the critical and exegetic acumen which they had acquired in researches among pagan authors; spurious works began to be separated from genuine; interpretations founded, perhaps, on some defective Latin translation of a Greek original, began to be discarded in favour of

those of scholars familiar with the grammar and usage of the original tongue. In short, that sifting of the wheat from the chaff of ancient literature, which has had so vast an influence on the progress of Christian theology, was begun. Some of the soundest intellect in Europe gave themselves to this work.

Among Englishmen of the seventeenth century probably the ablest representative at once of systematic theology and of scholarship was John Pearson.

Pearson was, like so many other distinguished English scholars, the son of a country clergyman, himself in his day a man of some distinction. He was born in 1612, the birth-year of Jeremy Taylor; he was educated at Eton and at King's College, Cambridge. It is worth notice that he, too, laid a poetic leaf on the hearse of the beloved Edward King, the Lycidas of Milton's well-known elegy. His verses are, to say the truth, only the correct production of a scholar who was no poet. But even if he had been gifted with poetic fire, the storms of a few years later might well have darkened the golden light of fancy and imagination in their ominous clouds.

Pearson's early life just covers the period in which the distinctive principles generally recognised as Anglican were acquiring firmness and consistency. Many, no doubt, among the leading Reformers had always clung to the precedents and authority of the Primitive Church, but it was not until the days of

Hooker that the school can be said to have been definitely formed which gave due weight to Scripture, to primitive antiquity, to reason and to general learning; which opposed on the one hand the extravagance of individual interpretation regardless of all precedent, however sacred and universal, and, on the other, renounced the sole authority of Rome; the school which defended earnestly the ancient doctrines of the Catholic Church against corrupters or innovators, and clung to the time-honoured episcopal form of Church-government, without condemning in one wide sentence all who were unable to adopt their views.

How the storm which for a time overwhelmed the old landmarks affected a man brought up in the best traditions of the English Church, attached to her not merely by the subtle bonds of social influence, but by the firm convictions of a strong mind already fortified by a wide knowledge of antiquity, we may see in a Cambridge sermon of the year 1643, preached just before the opening of the Westminster Assembly, when the most cherished institutions of the Church of England were in evident jeopardy; when it became apparent that men who had little respect for learning and tradition were for a time to have the upper hand, and that the venerable offices of public worship were for a time to cease. Here the zealous Churchman, still in the flush of early manhood, gave vent to his indignation. "If the

dominant party would rob the clergy of their learning," he exclaims, "it hath been done before. Alas! the apostate Julian would be their predecessor." And "the innocent prayers, what have they done? Did the authors give their bodies to the fire that their books should be burned? Did reverend Cranmer, therefore, first sacrifice his hand, because it had a part in the Liturgy?" Indignation for once made his words burn, but generally, in the midst of disturbance, he remains calm. When he mingles in the strife of words, it is to reason and not to rail. In that dusty atmosphere of combat he can still choose the best weapons, and take his stand on defensible ground.

Pearson was not one of those headstrong persons who, if they cannot do all that they would, will do nothing at all. He could not restore in the churches during the Commonwealth the use of the old prayers which he so heartily loved, but what he could, he did; he became lecturer in one of the City churches, and taught the truth in such a way as the times permitted. The story is told of his contemporary, Archbishop Leighton, that when he was asked by some in authority, whether he preached to the times, he replied, "that when so many preached to the times, it might be permitted to one poor brother to preach for eternity." Pearson was very unlike Archbishop Leighton, but in this he seems to have been like him, that in the midst of men who too

often allowed some speck or mote near at hand to obscure their whole horizon, he gave all his energy and learning to teach and enforce the great common verities of Christianity. It needs some acquaintance with the theological literature of the time to appreciate the clear-sightedness and force of character which led Pearson to expound to the congregation of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, the several articles of the Apostles' Creed, and to illustrate them with a more choice and exquisite learning than was then at the command of any other Englishman. It is strange, that a work which is, within its limits, the most perfect and complete production of English theology, should have been in its origin no more than a collection of parish lectures, published with the notes of the author.

After the Restoration Pearson received the honours in the Church of England which he had fairly earned; he took a prominent part in the Savoy Conference; he was chosen to one of the Theological Professorships at Cambridge, and appointed by the Crown to the Mastership of Trinity College; he ended his days as Bishop of Chester.* He has been of late years commemorated by a beautiful

* The following are the principal dates in Bishop Pearson's life:—Born, Feb. 28, 16$\frac{13}{14}$; Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, 1634; Lecturer at St. Clement's, Eastcheap, 1654; Archdeacon of Surrey, 1660; Master of Jesus College, 1660; Margaret Professor, 1661; Master of Trinity, 1662; Bishop of Chester, 167$\frac{2}{3}$; died, July 16, 1686.

monument in his cathedral: but his greatest and most lasting memorial is to be found in his works. Let us then consider him as a theologian and critic.

We mean in common speech by theology the science which, accepting certain truths as of irrefragable authority, builds upon them methodically, by logical inference, a system of teaching which covers all the chief points in the region of spiritual things. Theology of some kind there must be; as soon as a teacher passes beyond the bare words of Scripture; as soon as he attempts to combine and harmonise the statements of different passages; as soon as he admits the authority of logical deductions from revealed truth—he theologises. Christian theology was at first occasional and unsystematic, as we find it in the works of the ancient Fathers; but in the Middle Ages, it passed from the Church to the School, from the comparatively popular and informal discourse of the preacher to the eager but limited disputation of the university, and the formal "reading" of the professor's chair. And during this period there grew up a great body of systematic theology, distinguished on the one hand by the sharpest limitation, on the other by the greatest speculative freedom. This theology was founded on certain propositions which were held to admit of no dispute; texts of Scripture, decrees of Councils, opinions of Fathers, supplied the "sentences" which

were accepted on all hands as absolute truth. But an infinite ingenuity was bestowed on drawing inferences from these acknowledged propositions by the rules of the logic universally recognised, so as to cover an ever wider field; for theology in those days drew into itself what we now distinguish as Ethics and Metaphysics, and attempted to solve every problem which arose out of the nature of the Deity, or from the relation of God to man, or of man to his brother man. Every such problem was thought to be soluble by the due application of some recognised principle received from authority, and the constant decision of new problems by accredited doctors tended constantly to increase the number of such admitted principles, much as the range of the common law is constantly extended by the decisions of the judges. It is scarcely necessary to say, that a large portion of these disputations and decisions related to those points on which we have least knowledge from revelation; those propositions which were most open were of course most frequently mooted. Up to the end of the fifteenth century the same authorities and the same method were recognised in every school in Europe, or were only questioned here and there by independent thinkers like Wiclif, who were too much in advance of their time to produce a permanent effect.

But with the revived study of the ancient classical

literature in the fifteenth century there came a vast change over the mind of Europe. Men awoke to the consciousness that there was a world of thought and feeling altogether outside the limits of scholastic philosophy; that there was a natural grace and charm in writers who were wholly uninfluenced by the acute systematising of the Middle Ages; that there was even much wisdom to be found in the works of men who were simply seekers after truth with no infallible method to guide them. The critical spirit arose; men came to see that every sentence handed down from antiquity, every judgment of an irrefragable doctor, was not worthy of equal veneration; and further, that some documents which passed under the shadow of great names had in fact no claim to such authority at all. The absolute accuracy and sufficiency of the Vulgate version of the Scriptures were brought into question; the study of the Greek and Hebrew was recommended; the earnest and unsystematic teaching of a Chrysostom was preferred to that of the mediæval doctors; the study of secular literature was recommended as a preparation for that of theology; the scholastic method was thought by many to minister to over-subtlety and vain jangling rather than to edification; the great edifice of scholastic theology was to many a Tower of Babel which would never reach to heaven. This tendency to philology, to criticism, and to the rejection of the scholastic

method in favour of one more simple and natural, appears very strongly in Erasmus;* and the philosophic rebellion against the mere dead-weight of authority and scholasticism was immensely promoted in the succeeding century by the influence of Bacon and Descartes.† But many theologians even among the Reformers adhered still to the old method; and no one among the Anglican divines of the seventeenth century, I think, defines his position in this respect more clearly and explicitly than John Pearson. If I were to give him a distinctive name, like those which in the Middle Ages marked this as the Subtle, that as the Irrefragable Doctor, I should be disposed to call him the Scholar Doctor. In his theological method he is a schoolman; in his scholarship he belongs to the Renaissance.

There is perhaps no more clear index of Pearson's position with regard to the standard of Christian

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* See particularly his 'Ratio seu Methodus compendio perveniendi ad veram Theologiam' ('Opp.' V. 75 ff. ed. Leyden, 1703), a tract which J. S. Semler thought worth reprinting in the last century.

† It is perhaps worth notice that the Jesuits, with their characteristic readiness to adapt themselves to circumstances, early rejected the scholastic method. A distinguished member of the Company, Petavius, speaks ('De Theol. Dogm.,' Prol. i. 1) with a certain contempt of that "theologia contentiosa ac subtilis quæ aliquot abhinc orta seculis jam scholas occupavit," and proposes to draw "elegantiorem et uberiorem alteram" from the genuine study of antiquity. Compare viii. 4: "Scholasticas istas lites alienas a proposito nostro nec valde necessarias omittam."

doctrine and practice than is to be found in a *Concio ad Clerum* preached at Cambridge soon after the Restoration.* His advice to students of theology is —"Have done with the morbid restlessness of the present day; shun all attempts at novelty; enquire what was from the beginning, consult the sources, have recourse to antiquity, go back to the Fathers, look to the Primitive Church." Here, he thinks, are to be found the arms with which papal and puritan errors are alike to be put down. In the vast forest of Scripture all forms of errors may find lurking-places,† and of ingenious arguments there is no end; let the orthodox be as diligent as they may, they will find it hard to outdo their opponents. The one authority by which all can be alike crushed is that of the ancient Church. We must learn the truth, as Irenæus says, in those churches which derive their tradition from the apostles. As to that detestable invention of Calvin's, which for a time superseded all the most sacred traditions of our ancient Church—unroll the ecclesiastical annals, read the works of the most ancient Fathers; you will find episcopacy everywhere, presbytery nowhere. Are the Romanists scandalised that in our public prayers we invoke neither saint nor angel? Let us take the Apostolic Churches as the interpreters of the Apostolic letters, and we have a complete and

* 'Opera Minora,' Ed. Churton, ii. 6. † Ibid. ii. 10.

ready vindication. Do the modern innovators object to many things in our form of Common Prayer? They are exactly the portions which have the fullest consent of antiquity. From whichever side it may be attacked, the surest defence of the Church of England is its agreement with the Primitive Church.

Pearson deliberately and avowedly adhered to the scholastic method in theology. He announced, as soon as he took his place in a professor's chair, "It is theology that I profess, and that the scholastic."* And then he further defines what he understands by theology. "When I speak of theology," he says, "I mean the science which is concerned with God and things divine; and when I apply that term to it as one apart and separate from other sciences, I take for its subject-matter the revelation made by God, and the truths through that revelation to us made known; further, as the latest and fullest manifestation of the will of God is that made by Christ, I understand by theology—to limit the term still further—the doctrine of the Christian religion." And he prefers the scholastic method of stating and dealing with things divine so revealed to us by God through His Son. For as the revelation of God contains teaching varied and multiform, the Church was made aware that

* 'Opera Minora,' Ed. Churton, i. 1.

this scholastic theology was, if not absolutely necessary, at least of very great utility. It is well that the varied truths of revelation should be treated in some kind of order and method, and the clearer the method, the more readily are errors and fallacies detected. "This, then, is the task of the scholastic theology; to set forth clearly and succinctly the Christian doctrine which is according to the faith; to state it with fit arrangement and precise method from theological sources; to investigate, prove, confirm, defend it by means of right reason, well informed by the ordinary human arts and sciences." That he had a sincere and very natural admiration for the order, method and ingenuity of the great schoolmen is evident; but he was not blind to some at least of their faults. He begs his hearers not to fancy that he is intending to take them back from the purity of the Renaissance* to the barbarisms of the Middle Ages. No such thing; the schoolmen had their defects, of which the first is, that they did not know how to criticise authorities. They take propositions from Scripture; but they make no distinction between Canonical and Apocryphal books, and they use the Vulgate as if it were the original text. They quote Councils, but they make no distinction between ancient and modern, between the greatest and the

* "A puritate renascentium literarum" ('Opp. Min.' i. 3).

most contemptible assemblies. They allege the consent of the Fathers; but they quote spurious as well as genuine works, many works known to us they never saw, and of Greek books they knew only Latin translations. They rely upon decrees of Popes; but while no Pope is more than a respectable patristic authority, some Popes are much less. We Anglicans, on the other hand, set in the highest place of authority the Canonical books of Scripture, speaking their own tongues wherein they were written; we receive Councils, chiefly General Councils, which really speak the mind of the ancient Church; we think much of the consent of the Fathers, but then by "Fathers" we mean ancient writers of admitted weight, to the exclusion of all spurious or apocryphal writings; as to the Popes, we recognise the best of them in any case simply as Fathers. With these allowances, Pearson proceeds to adopt as the basis of his theology the greatest of mediæval systems, the 'Summa Theologiæ' of Thomas Aquinas. Pearson is, in short, a schoolman, with the scholarship of the Renaissance.

Of the Reformed Churches he speaks with the utmost respect; yet he feels that if the Roman Church has erred by an undiscriminating acceptance of authority, the Reformed Churches have no less erred by an undiscriminating rejection.* They have

* 'Opp. Min.,' i. 434.

abandoned idolatry, embraced Christian doctrine in its purity, rejected traditions of men, shaken off the grievous burden of ceremonies, extirpated papal tyranny, corrected everything according to the exact standard of the Word of God. Still, we must admit that their intentions were better than the results which they attained; the reaction from the old state of things was too violent. Hence, in extirpating idolatry they hardly retained reverence; in rejecting the traditions of men they hardly spared those of the apostles; in ridding themselves of ceremonies they stripped the Church almost bare; and in rejecting human authority in matters of faith they preferred their own opinions to the undisputed dogmas of Fathers and decrees of Councils. And the revolutionary spirit was succeeded by an unreasoning conservatism; institutions first set up as temporary expedients in a time of war and tumult they now refuse to amend; they fear lest the whole edifice should fall if a stone is touched. Happier far was the Anglican Reformation, which retained the ancient episcopal order, and acknowledged the authority of Creeds and Fathers, as well as that of Scripture.

With Pearson's views on theology, he was, as we might anticipate, no Cartesian. The champion of authority and precedent had no sympathy with the ardent and self-reliant spirit who was ready to destroy the existing fabric of thought and build it

up again by his own unaided skill.* His God is the God of Revelation, and has nothing in common with the metaphysical deity of Descartes.† That gentleman may, he admits, be an ingenious philosopher, but in theology he can by no means be permitted to make a clean sweep of all that has gone before, and start afresh from the mere fact of consciousness. With Pearson, discussion has its limits as well as its laws; the questioning and the cavilling of the age in which he found himself was evidently in the highest degree distasteful to him. A man cannot propound the question, he complains,‡ whether God is omnipresent, but up starts one who objects, that it is not yet agreed that there is a God. If we set up the thesis, that obedience is due to a king, men must first assure themselves that there ought to be a king; nay, whether a Christian can be a king. The age is in truth infected, he hints, with Cartesianism run mad. And this disposition to reject all authority, as such, and start in quest of truth without assumptions, is perhaps at least as common in the nineteeenth as it was in the seventeenth century.

With his firm and fixed principles he has no more hesitation in giving a decision on a point of theology than Lord Coke had in deciding a point

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* 'Opp. Min.' i. 272. † Ibid. i. 28. ‡ Ibid. i. 271 f.

of common law. He "speaks resolvedly as a divine, to whom it properly appertains to speak of theological doctrines." * His authorities are definite, and he has perfect confidence in his methods. He quite naturally ends a dissertation with the conclusive words, ὅπερ ἔδει δεῖξαι, *Quod erat demonstrandum;* the proposition is proved, and there is an end.† A greater contrast to the questioning and hesitating tone of much of our modern theology could scarcely be imagined. But Pearson had also, what many very confident disputants have not, the tolerance which arises from a consciousness of strength. His calmness and candour were as conspicuous as his logic and learning in the Savoy Conference, where he won the admiration of foemen who were able to estimate his worth. "Dr. Pearson," says Richard Baxter, "was their true logician and disputant. He disputed accurately, soberly, and calmly, being but once in any passion, breeding in us a great respect for him, and a persuasion that if he had been independent he would have been for peace, and that if all were in his power it would have gone well. He was the strength and honour of that cause which we doubted whether he heartily maintained." The last sentence shows that the Nonconformists failed to understand a man who could be at once calm and earnest. That

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* 'Opp. Min.' ii. 168. † Ibid. ii. 162.

Pearson loved peace is true enough, and he would doubtless have conceded more than some of his colleagues; but the whole tenor of his life shows that he would not have bought peace by the sacrifice of one jot of that which he regarded as essential to the doctrine or discipline of the Church. That he would not have given up episcopacy is certain, and I much doubt whether he would have accepted such a compromise as Ussher's "moderate episcopacy." The absence of passion made him, as Burnet says, "more instructive than affective" as a preacher, but it was a most valuable quality for a disputant and controversialist.

His preference for the scholastic method in theology appears in his famous 'Exposition of the Creed.' That book is indeed on the surface somewhat more popular than the formal treatises of the schoolmen, as one founded on parish lectures could scarcely fail to be; but it is evidently the work of one accustomed to rigorous definition and exact deduction, and might easily be thrown into a form similar to that in which Thomas Aquinas and other great schoolmen have treated the same subjects. The style is singularly unambitious; it seems to aim at nothing beyond the careful and accurate statement of propositions and arguments. The truth is, it is the style of a scientific treatise, and not of an oration or declamation. Nothing is further from Pearson's thought than to recommend the truths of

Christianity by the arts of rhetoric; an ornate treatise on geometry would probably have been quite as much to his taste as an ornate treatise on the Creed. He regards the propositions which he takes for the foundation of his reasoning as being just as irrefragable, and almost as precise, as those of Euclid. The propositions which he takes for granted are those which, he is sure, no good man would deny; and he probably regarded those who did deny them much in the same way that the men of real science in our time look upon the ingenious persons who pester them with proofs that Copernicus and Newton were altogether mistaken. And this dry scientific way of treating theology explains the defect, which has been often noted, in his conception of Faith; such a conception of Faith as that set forth (for instance) in Julius Hare's 'Victory of Faith' is beside his purpose; for the present he is not concerned with faith as a power, but only with the assent of the intellect to truths revealed. For his purpose, to introduce the conception of faith which is most familiar to the practical teacher would be superfluous and inconvenient. As it stands, his discussion corresponds to his definition.

The notes to the 'Exposition' are at least as remarkable as the text. He explains in his address to the reader that the text "containeth fully what can be delivered and made intelligible in the Eng-

lish tongue" for the use of the unlearned; while he has "placed in the margin . . . whatever is necessary for the illustration of any part of the Creed" for the benefit of scholars; the result is a work exactly in the form of a modern 'Handbook,' in which a simple text is supplemented by learned notes. And the notes are admirable of their kind. The works of most of the great writers of the seventeenth century are more remarkable for the number and variety than for the appositeness of their citations: Pearson's are choice and apposite; they are almost always the best for their purpose and almost always fairly interpreted; he will cite Æschylus for a point of scholarship and Augustine for a point of doctrine; and, both in one case and the other, he will take infinite pains to illustrate a subordinate point of interpretation with curious learning. The more we study his work, the more we are led to admire the extent of his reading, the accuracy of his scholarship, and the soundness of his judgment.

Pearson had a great veneration for the primitive and catholic institution of episcopacy, which he had seen with pain and grief abolished for a time in his native land. Part of his quarrel with the Pope was that he had absorbed many functions which properly belonged to the episcopate generally.* And

* "Exsors unius pontificis potestas reliquorum omnium antistitum jus eripuit, absorpsit" ('Opp. Min.,' i. 434; compare 274, 286). What would he say if he were living now?

it was probably this love for episcopacy which led him to join in the Ignatian controversy. The genuineness of the collection of letters attributed to Ignatius of Antioch was very keenly discussed, for it was felt that if they were the genuine work of one who suffered martyrdom at an advanced age in the year 115, episcopacy must have been a venerated institution of the Church in the age immediately succeeding that of the apostles; the letters everywhere recognise it, and recognise it as an institution essential to the completeness of a church. After the publications of Ussher (1644) and Vossius (1646), it was generally admitted that only seven, out of the larger number which bore the name of Ignatius, were genuine; but even these were assigned by the veteran Daillé to a date not much before the reign of Constantine. It was with Daillé that Pearson joined issue in the 'Vindiciæ Ignatianæ.' On the main point victory was easy; the date assigned by Daillé is destitute of all probability, and Pearson had no difficulty in refuting his arguments; whether he proved the seven epistles to be the work of the martyred bishop of Antioch admits of more doubt;* but the work has a value

* The whole aspect of the question has been materially changed in recent times by the discovery (1836) in the Nitrian desert of a Syriac translation of three epistles, which are now regarded by many as the only genuine portion (Cureton, 'Corpus Ignatianum'). R. A. Lipsius ('Die Aechtheit d. Syrisch. Recension der Ignatian. Briefe,' in Illgen's 'Zeitschrift

independent of its professed end; it is full of admirable discussions of collateral points which the author found it necessary to establish in the course of his argument. Probably even to this day there is no more complete statement of the evidences for primitive episcopacy than is to be found in the 'Vindiciæ.' When the question turns up incidentally of the genuineness of a treatise of Origen, he investigates the matter with the most exhaustive care. Similarly he discusses the age of the Pseudo-Dionysius. The obscure point of the date of Valentinus the heresiarch is made the subject of most patient research. And in these investigations, and in other incidental discussions, he shows the true scholar's instinct: he always recurs to original authorities, he is careful and exact in his interpretations, and he illustrates the passage in question by similar usages elsewhere. If proof were wanting of the care and scholarlike skill with which Pearson read his books, it would be supplied by the 'Marginalia'—the notes and jottings from the margins of his books—which have been published in recent times.

The works by which Pearson is chiefly known

für hist. Theol.' 1856, I.), admitting the genuineness of the Syriac, holds the Greek version of the seven epistles to be a work of the middle of the second century; but many distinguished scholars (as, for instance, Bishops Christopher Wordsworth and Hefele) still maintain, as Pearson did, the seven Greek epistles to be the genuine work of Ignatius.

are the 'Exposition of the Creed,' and the 'Vindiciæ Ignatianæ;' on these his reputation might safely rest. But the complete list of his writings shows great literary activity, extending, if not literally to the end of his days, to the end of his intellectual life; for his mind fell into ruin before his bodily powers utterly failed. From the days when, a young man, he published the "Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge," to the days when his failing hand left unfinished the 'Dissertations on the early Popes of Rome,' he seems never to have been idle; sermons, lectures, letters, and prefaces indicate his activity in the intervals of more solid work; and everything that he published contains something solid and weighty.*

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* The following list of Bishop Pearson's writings is taken from Archdeacon Churton's edition of the 'Minor Works,' p. cxxxv.:—

1. A Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge, at St. Mary's, on St. Luke xi. 2. A.D. 1643.

2. Christ's Birth not mistimed. London, 1649.

3. Preface to Lord Falkland's Discourse. London, 1651.

4. Prolegomena in Hieroclem. London, 1655.

5. Papers in 'Schism Unmasked.' Paris, 1658.

6. The Patriarchal Funeral. Sermon on the death of George Lord Berkeley. London, 1658.

7. Preface to Stokes's Explication of the Minor Prophets. London, 1659.

8. Preface to Hales's Remains. London, 1659.

9. Exposition of the Apostles' Creed. London, 1659.

10. No Necessity of Reformation of the Public Doctrine of the Church of England. London, 1660.

11. Answer to Dr. Burges. London, 1660.

12. Præfatio ad Criticos Sacros. London, 1660.

Bishop Pearson has not the great renown which waits on genius and eloquence; his works have never been, and never can be, popular; but no English scholar and theologian is more perfect in his kind. He knew his powers, and undertook nothing that he could not perfectly carry out. Probably no other Englishman, few of any nation, had the same accurate knowledge of antiquity which

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13. Dedicatio et Præfatio ad Diogenem Laertium Menagii. London, 1664.

14. Præfatio Parænetica ad Vetus Testamentum. Cantabr., 1665.

15. Oratio ad Exsequias Matthæi Wrenn, Episc. Eliensis. 1667.

16. Letter against promiscuous Ordinations. London, 1668.

17. Lectiones de Deo et Attributis. 1661 sqq. [In 'Opera Minora,' ed. Churton, vol. i.]

18. Orationes in Comitiis Cantabr. 1661–1671. ['Opp. Min.,' i. 397 ff.]

19. Conciones ad Clerum, 1661–1671. ['Opp. Min.,' ii. 1 ff.]

20. Determinationes Theologicæ Sex. ['Opp. Min.,' i. 269 ff.]

21. Vindiciæ Epistolarum S. Ignatii. Cantab., 1672.

22. Sermon preached at Westminster Abbey, Nov. 5, 1673. London, 1673.

23. Annales Cyprianici. Oxon, 1682.

24. Annales Paulini.

25. Lectiones in Acta Apost.

26. Dissertationes de Serie et successione Primorum Romæ Episcoporum.

} Published in the 'Opera Posthuma,' by Dodwell, 1688.

27. Various Letters, Fragments, &c., collected by Archdeacon Churton.

28. Notes on Hesychius. MSS. Trin. Coll., Cantabr.

29. Notes on Ignatius, in Smith's edition of Ignatius. Oxon, 1709.

30. Notes on Justin, in Thirlby's edition of Justin. London, 1722.

31. Notes on Æschylus. MS. Bodl. Rawl. 193.

To these should be added the 'Marginalia' from certain of Pearson's books preserved in Trinity College Library, published by Mr. Hort in the 'Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology,' vol. i. pp. 98 ff, 399 ff.

Pearson possessed, and the same power of using it with skill and judgment. If he had not been a theologian, he might have been known simply as the best English scholar before Bentley; he was a theologian, but he was none the less a great scholar. And there is a singleness and consistency in Pearson's character which wins an admiration not always given to more brilliant parts. In times of great trial and difficulty he maintained his principles with a steadfast calmness which deserves the highest praise; in adversity he was not cowardly, in prosperity he was not arrogant; rarely has a prominent man so kept the even tenor of his way in the midst of storms such as those of the seventeenth century.

Pearson occupies a place apart among English theologians. No one, probably, of the whole band has less claim to originality or imagination; he proceeds always upon authorities, and his distinctive skill is in the discrimination and use of authorities. He was altogether incapable of the Platonic sweep of thought which led Hooker from Puritanic controversy to his noble contemplation of the laws which govern the universe. He is equally removed from the poetic fancy of Jeremy Taylor and the brilliant invective of South. Perhaps among English divines the one who most resembles him is Bull; but Bull is inferior to him both in scholarship and in the nice use of authorities; his 'Defence of the Ante-Nicene Faith'—doubtless an admirable work—has never

taken its place beside Pearson's 'Exposition of the Creed.' The theologian whom we may best compare and contrast with Pearson is his successor in the Mastership of Trinity College, Isaac Barrow. He, too, expounded the Creed, but in how different a spirit! With Barrow, even when he treats what would be to many bare scientific propositions, the ethical interest is dominant. Contrast Pearson's definition of faith or belief as "an assent to that which is credible, as credible"—good as it is for his own purpose—with Barrow's contention that "infidelity is a sinful distemper of heart," and his eloquent picture of the "many gallant feats that have been achieved by faith," and its "exploits of spiritual prowess;" of the "heroical acts of fortitude and patience" which "the bright sunshine of grace and glory upon the minds of our apostles and primitive saints did produce," when "a little troop of them marched out with resolution to attack all the powers of hell and to beat down the kingdom of darkness; to despatch all the prejudices and errors of mankind, and to subdue the world to the obedience of Christ." Or compare Pearson's dry, though clear and sound, defence of the Divinity of Christ, with the dignified eloquence in which Barrow sets forth the "excellency of the Christian Religion," and proves that Jesus is the true Messias, the Son of God, and our Lord. In those parts of the subject where Barrow goes over

the same ground as Pearson, he is less succinct and accurate, less scholarlike than Pearson; but he evidently feels much more strongly than Pearson the impulse to contemplate the great truths of religion in their bearing upon actual human life; he is, perhaps, hardly less a theologian than Pearson, but he is much more a preacher. There is need of both in the great House of God. The theologian without the preacher dwells apart, and the rays of his light fall upon few hearts; the preacher without the theologian is too apt to substitute popular declamation for the careful teaching of the truth. Pearson was not, so far as we know, a great preacher; but probably few writers have had a larger influence on those who have filled the pulpits of the Church of England for the last two centuries. There are few to whom that Church is more indebted for the grave and calm tone, removed equally from blind submissiveness on the one hand and restless innovation on the other, which has been its strength. And never, perhaps, was the example and influence of a man like Pearson, who, in days of infinite disputation, defended the great cardinal truths of the Christian faith, regardless of the perpetual skirmishes about him, more needed than it is at the present time, when the highest truths seem in danger of being thrust into the background by matters of mere speculation or mere ceremony. The more we have

of his really sound learning, of his clearness and dispassionate accuracy in debate, the more conscious shall we become of the infinite importance of the Faith once for all delivered to the saints, and of the comparative nothingness of many of the objects for which men less learned and more passionate maintain an eager struggle.

THE END.